

## New British Budget Emphasizes Fight Against Joblessness

By Bob Haggerty  
International Herald Tribune

LONDON — The government announced Tuesday a cautious budget aimed at reducing unemployment in Britain while reassuring the financial markets that inflation will not resurge.

Nigel Lawson, the chancellor of the exchequer, told Parliament of his plan to encourage companies to hire more young and unskilled workers by reducing the company's contributions to National Insurance, which provides for health and other government benefits.

But he rejected calls for substantially higher government spending to create jobs and announced a smaller-than-expected tax reduction, affirming that the government's purpose "is nothing less than the defeat of inflation."

"We must also do what we can to combat the scourge of unemployment," he said.

The budget for the fiscal year ending April 1, assumed of a Conservative majority, calls for a 5 percent increase in the spending of £159.5 billion (\$182 billion), up from £149.5 billion in the current fiscal year.

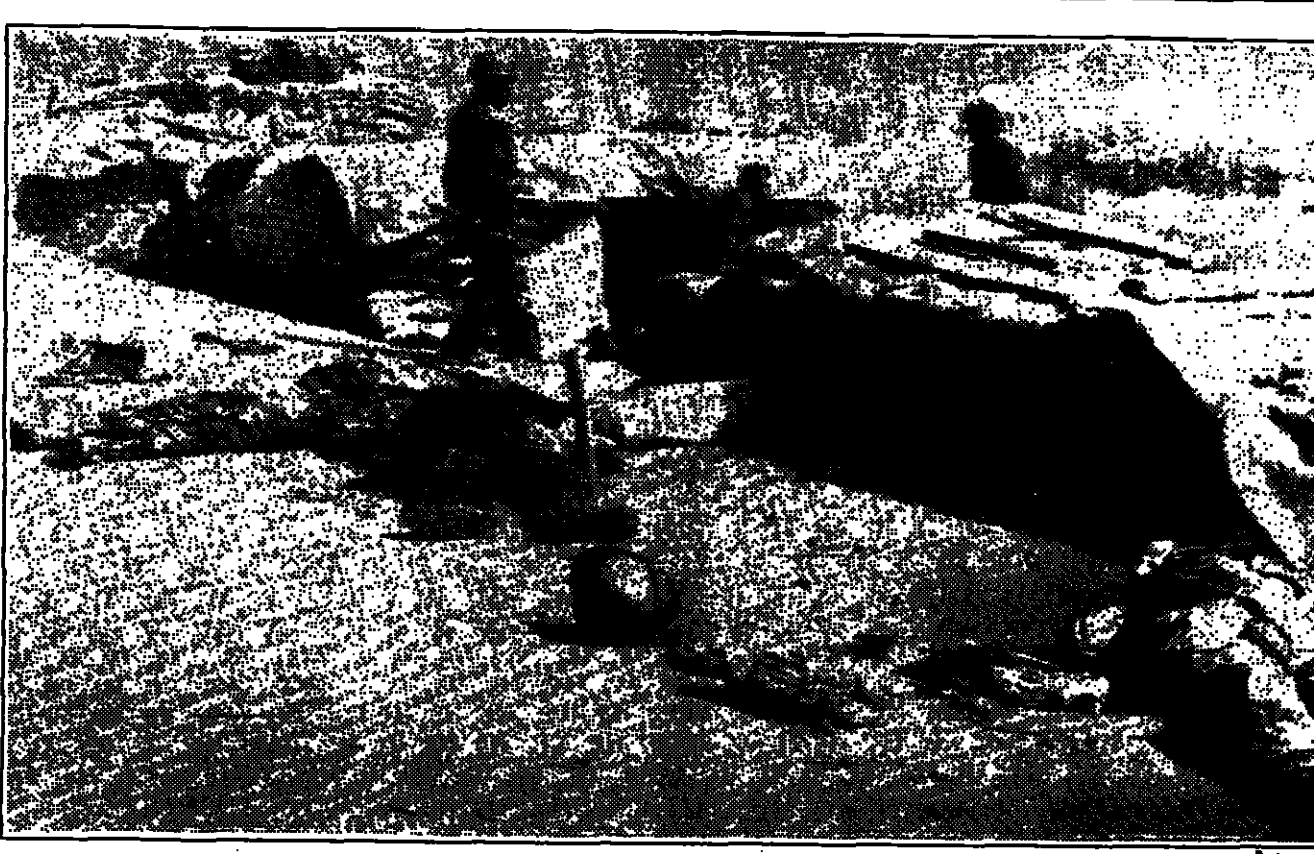
The Conservative government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher managed to reduce inflation to 3.5 percent a year from more than 20 percent five years ago. But she failed to stop the rise of employment, currently about 13 percent of the work force, up from 10 percent a year ago.

Neil Kinnock, leader of the Labour Party, conceded that much of the budget had gone into preparing the fight. "The problem," he said, "is it's highly unlikely that a lot of it will come out of it."

Economists at the stock brokers of James Capel & Co., Hoare & Co. and Capel-Cure Myers said that they still expected unemployment to rise this year.

Mr. Lawson forecast that the country's public-sector borrowing requirement, a measure of the budget deficit at both the national and local level, would total £7 billion, compared with the current £10.5 billion, which is £3.25 billion above the initial forecast, largely because of costs arising from the 12-month coal strike that ended earlier this month.

an apparent effort to give the



Iraqi troops walk among Iranian dead in the marshy region of southeastern Iraq, near the Iranian border.

## Dutch, Reacting to U.S. Fears, Act Against Child Pornography

By Joseph Fitchett  
International Herald Tribune

AMSTERDAM — Responding to U.S. concern about child pornography and related child abuse, the Dutch government has begun a crackdown on traffickers who have made Amsterdam the major source for international supplies of such material.

The material includes videotapes and illustrated books that show children in various sexual acts, often involving sadism, with partners of both sexes, with adults and even with animals.

"Amsterdam is sort of the 1984 version of Sodom and Gomorrah," the U.S. Customs Service commissioner, William von Raab, told a Senate committee last fall in testimony about how to curtail imports of child pornography.

After U.S. legislation was passed last spring banning the sale and distribution of such material, a television documentary, "The Secret Shame," alerted U.S. public opinion and Congress last fall to the flood of child pornography arriving by mail from abroad.

The U.S. outcry, including the congressional hearings, raised concern about the problem in the Netherlands, the last country in Western Europe to tolerate the sale of child pornography. After Sweden outlawed it in 1980 and Denmark, the other main European source, followed in 1982, the Netherlands became a haven for mail-order business in the material.

An estimated 85 percent of the child pornography imported into the United States comes from the Netherlands, which is "definitely the most difficult country for us," a U.S. Customs agent said. He was part of a high-level interagency group that recently visited Denmark, the Netherlands and Sweden to coordinate international police work on the problem.

Alerted by the U.S. publicity, and a letter last November from a group of U.S. senators asking Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers for help, the lower house of the States-General, the Dutch parliament, passed legislation early this year to prohibit the production and, more important, the circulation of child pornography. The bill is expected to pass the upper house this spring.

This and other forms of pornography had benefited from liberal laws on pornography and on obscene materials in the mail. "In

## U.S. Ponders Joint Talks With Jordan, Palestinians

By John M. Goshko  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The United States has declared that it is considering the possibility of talking to a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, but U.S. officials emphasized that members of the Palestine Liberation Organization could not be in the group because of the PLO's refusal to recognize Israel's right to exist.

The idea of a joint delegation that might negotiate with Israel over the status of Israeli-occupied Arab territory stems from the Feb. 11 agreement between King Hussein of Jordan and Yasser Arafat, chairman of the PLO. They want the United States to pressure Israel to deal with a joint group.

President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, arguing that the Hussein-Arafat accord implies PLO recognition of Israel, appealed to President Ronald Reagan last week to give the plan U.S. backing. The administration has refused to make a commitment, however, and Secretary of State George P. Shultz said Friday that Richard W. Murphy, assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs, will visit the region soon to explore ideas for getting the peace process moving.

In a television interview Sunday, Mr. Shultz said that Mr. Murphy will investigate, among other options, the possibility of constructing an acceptable delegation that would include Palestinian representation. But he emphasized that it would have to be within the framework of existing policy that says the United States will not deal with the PLO until it accepts Israel's right to exist.

That was reiterated Monday by Ed Djerjian, a State Department spokesman, who said: "We are looking into the possibility of a joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation to be involved in the peace process, in moving the peace forward, which in our view at the end of the day means direct negotiations, direct talks, between the Arabs and the Israelis."

Mr. Djerjian also repeated that PLO members could not be part of the delegation. During past attempts to get Jordan involved in

## Senate Votes To Free Funds For MX Missile

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

WASHINGTON — The Senate approved continued spending for the MX missile system Tuesday.

The 55-45 vote gave the Reagan administration its first major victory on Capitol Hill since President Ronald Reagan's landslide re-election victory last November.

Under a compromise reached in last year's presidential election campaign, Congress agreed to allocate \$1.5 billion to build 21 additional missiles in the current fiscal year. But the money could not be spent until both houses of Congress approved two separate resolutions this year to authorize and appropriate the funds.

The Senate is expected to vote Thursday on appropriation. Another favorable vote would send the issue to the House of Representatives, where a difficult battle is expected.

Tuesday's vote in the Senate came just hours after Mr. Reagan warned that rejecting funds for the missile would signal a "collapse of American resolve" and endanger world peace.

Mr. Reagan, in a rare lobbying trip to Capitol Hill, argued that the Soviet Union had engaged in "the biggest military buildup in the history of mankind" and that deployment of the MX "represents a simple necessity."

"The votes cast this week will bear directly on the outcome of the arms talks in Geneva, and hence, on the prospects for peace throughout the world," Mr. Reagan said at a luncheon with Republican senators.

The president said that a "yes" vote "will show the Soviets that America today is united and resolute, and thereby advance the cause of peace for us and our children."

But a "no" vote would be interpreted by the Soviet Union as a "collapse of American resolve," he said.

On Monday, Mr. Reagan and Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger telephoned undecided senators in an attempt to win the final necessary votes.

Some senators who had been undecided on the issue until Tuesday said the Geneva negotiations played a large part in their decision to support the funding.

Typical of these was Senator John H. Chafee, Republican of Rhode Island. He said: "I'm saying to the president and his negotiators, 'I don't want any excuses. I want to give you the tools to get the job done. I expect you to come back with an agreement. I don't want anybody saying you would have succeeded but for the lack of the MX.'"

Senator Barry Goldwater, Republican of Arizona, said that in supporting the funding: "My plea is not necessarily to build the missile. It's to uphold the commander in chief in a decision he's made." The Armed Services Committee, of which Mr. Goldwater is chairman, voted 11-6 on Monday to recommend that the funding be approved.

The MX, for missile experimental, is a 96-ton (86-metric ton) intercontinental missile that can carry 10 highly accurate warheads on a 6,000-mile (9,700-kilometer) path. It was originally designed with a mobile launching platform, but the plans now are to deploy it in existing Minuteman silos.

Supporters contend the missile is needed to modernize the aging U.S. missile fleet and to ensure that the Russians could not plan a successful first strike, as well as to show support for the U.S. negotiators in Geneva.

Opponents argue that the missile is destabilizing because it represents a potential first-strike weapon. Delay, they say, would not harm the program but would allow time to see what the arms talks produce.

Separate from Tuesday's vote, there remains before Congress an administration budget request for \$4 billion to build 48 MX missiles in the 1986 fiscal year.

Senator Sam Nunn, Democrat of Georgia, served notice Monday that he has run out of patience with the MX and would vote in the future to "dramatically scale down" Reagan administration requests for more weapons.

Mr. Nunn is one of the most influential voices in Congress on military policy. He said Monday that while he would vote to release funds for the 21 missiles on Tuesday, "I will be looking very, very skeptically at continuing down the path set by this administration" when the question of more weapons is debated later this spring. (AP, NYT)

## Language Gap Grows For American Blacks

By William K. Stevens  
New York Times Service

PHILADELPHIA — Contrary to expectations, the English spoken by many black Americans is becoming more different from standard English rather than more like it, a study by linguists at the University of Pennsylvania suggests.

The "black English vernacular" of urban America, say the linguists, is evolving in its own direction despite earlier predictions that television, radio and the movies would exert a homogenizing influence on language in the United States.

The black vernacular, a recent study has concluded, appears to be steadily diverging not only from standard English but also from regional dialects, such as the black vernacular of the South. These dialects, say the linguists, are themselves moving in a direction separate from both the black vernacular and the American standard.

The development reflects increasing racial segregation and isolation of urban blacks, according to Dr. William Labov, a professor of linguistics at the University of Pennsylvania, who directed the study. He said he studied suggested that ordinary communication between whites and blacks was becoming increasingly difficult and that the problems of many black children in school might be worsening.

"There is evidence that, far from getting more similar, the black vernacular is going its own way," Dr. Labov said. "It's healthy, living form of language. But separate development is only made possible by separate living."

His assessment is based on a two-year study, supported by a National Science Foundation, in which hundreds of recorded conversations of several hundred Philadelphia blacks and whites were analyzed in detail.

"The results of our analyses show a black English vernacular that is more remote from her dialects than has been reported before," the study said. "People's speech behavior," Dr. Labov said, "is not influenced by the remote communi-

### INSIDE

- A Dutchman has offered his farm to the Soviet Union as a missile site. Page 3.
- R.F. Botha clashed with Bishop Tutu in a debate. Page 3.
- Paris isn't immune after all, with glass pyramids and expanding Chinatowns. Page 5.
- U.S. senators are Geneva arms talks observers. Page 5.
- Mexican police served drug traffickers, according to court documents. Page 5.
- The dollar dove and gold jumped in Europe and the United States. Page 17.
- New York stock prices soared. The Dow average gained 21.42. Page 8.
- Japan's glittering prosperity masks a gap in the quality of life compared to Western Europe. A special report. Page 9.

that hundreds of Iranian dead littered the marshlands.

Among the exodus of foreign nationals in Tehran was a West German contingent of 357 technicians and businessmen who boarded a Lufthansa jet for Frankfurt.

The only West Germans remaining in Tehran were believed to be men who worked at the embassy and the husbands and wives of Iranians.

Many people turned up at the airport in the hope of finding a place on the departing planes. Several Iranians who had bought tickets in advance were refused seats by all companies except Air France.

Soviet expatriates made their way to two Aeroflot jets, while about 60 Japanese found room aboard an Air France flight. Seats were reserved for Tuesday for another 170 Japanese on two Turkish Airlines planes, after negotiations between Japanese and Iranian officials. Japan is still negotiating for

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

## Foreigners Quit Tehran As Iraqi Deadline Nears

Agence France-Presse

TEHRAN — More than 1,000 foreigners left Iran on Tuesday on the last flights before the expiration of an Iraqi deadline after which Iraq warned no airliner in Iranian airspace would be safe.

Crowds packed into Tehran's airport to try to get aboard one of the last flights organized by the West German airline Lufthansa, Air France, Austrian Airlines and the Soviet Aeroflot line.

Iraq said Sunday that all of Iranian airspace would be considered a war zone at 1700 GMT.

In Baghdad, a large explosion killed 11 persons in a residential area early Tuesday, Reuters reported, quoting diplomats. Iran claimed later to have fired its fourth missile in six days into Baghdad.

[Separately, Reuters reported from the war front that Iranian forces had been driven back almost to the border in southern Iraq, and

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

## Nicaragua Rebels Consider Future Without U.S. Aid

By James McMoyn  
New York Times Service

TEGUCIGALPA, Honduras — At their sprawling mountain headquarters on the border between Nicaragua and Honduras, Nicaraguan guerrilla commanders soberly assessed their chances of victory last week and spoke anxiously of the debate on their future in Washington.

The apparently impregnable military camp, shrouded by dense jungle and gray rain clouds, is far from Washington. But the rebels' keen awareness of the heated debate they have generated in Congress almost seems to narrow the distance between their base and the American capital.

The border camp is the command center for the Nicaraguan Democratic Force, by far the largest exile army. The group received most of the \$80 million the Central Intelligence Agency reportedly spent on the war until financing was ended last June.

The goals of the rebels, the number of former officers of the Nicaraguan National Guard in their ranks and reports of human rights violations have become major issues in the debate between the Reagan administration and Congress on whether to renew aid to the guerrillas.

President Ronald Reagan has called the rebels "freedom fighters" who are the "moral equal of our Founding Fathers."

With the support of advisers from the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, Argentina, Honduras and a handful of Cuban-Americans,

This is the first of two articles on the Nicaraguan rebels and their effect on the country.

cans, rebel leaders said, the Nicaraguan Democratic Force has grown in four years from a marauding band numbering a few hundred men into a veteran army of 12,000 to 14,000 men whose ambushes and sabotage have turned much of northern Nicaragua into a war zone.

But the loss of American aid has created serious supply problems for the guerrillas, according to their commanders and to Western intelligence, limiting their military activity and raising strong doubts about their prospects.

Senior guerrilla leaders said their objective is now and always has been to overthrow the Sandinist government in Nicaragua. The colloquial Spanish name by which the rebels are known, "contras," means counterrevolutionaries.

"He who speaks of dialogue with the Communists speaks of wasting his time," said Captain Armando Lopez, Colonel Bermudez's second-in-command.

The influence of former National Guard officers in the rebel movement has become an important issue because their presence appears to have limited the rebels' popular support inside Nicaragua and obstructed repeated efforts to form a united front with other rebel groups.

A former Sandinist leader, Eden Pastora Gomez, who leads an estimated 2,000 rebels on the Costa Rican border, has refused for two years to unite with the Nicaraguan Democratic Force because he says it is dominated by former Nicaraguan National Guard officers.

Interviews with more than 40 rebels indicated that the majority

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)



At a rebel camp are, from left, Adolfo Calero Portocarrero, the chief political officer; Major General John K. Singlaub, a retired U.S. Army officer sympathetic to the rebels, and Colonel Enrique Bermudez, their chief commander.



## Christian Threat to Moslems In Sidon Prompts Exodus

By William Claiborne  
Washington Post Service

BEIRUT — More than 20,000 Moslem residents, about 90 percent of the population, fled the eastern suburbs of the southern Lebanese city of Sidon Tuesday as Moslem gunmen and Christian militiamen fought battles in the first serious outbreak of sectarian violence since Israeli troops withdrew from the region on Feb. 16.

Units of the regular Lebanese Army tried to intervene in the fighting and became drawn into the mortar and machine-gun battle, resulting in two soldiers killed and nine wounded, an army communiqué said.

The rightist Christian militia, the Lebanese Forces, which has rebelled against the Phalange Party leadership dominated by President Amin Gemayel, brought in reinforcements to the predominantly Moslem suburbs and gave the residents a two-hour ultimatum to leave.

The mostly Sunni Moslem vil-

lages are located in the Awali river valley, just east of Sidon and adjacent to a number of Christian villages in the foothills that rise toward Kfar Fallous and Jezzine to the east.

The Christian militia reinforcements came mostly from the Jezzine area, which is still under Israeli control, and Moslem leaders immediately branded their attack as an attempt to split the region on sectarian grounds and relieve the Israeli Army of pressure from Shiite Moslem guerrillas.

The Sidon area commander of Amal, the Shiite guerrilla group, Mahmoud Farah said, "We are sure this flare-up is deliberately timed and part of an Israeli plan to push Christians further south to form a buffer zone for the Israelis along the border."

Spokesmen for the Lebanese Forces in Beirut Tuesday night said the flare-up was strictly a local matter and not connected with the militia's rebellion against Mr. Gemayel. The rebellious militia lead-

ers have accused Mr. Gemayel of encouraging Syrian influence in Lebanese political affairs.

A photographer for the Reuters news agency, Jack Dabbaghian, said that only Moslem gunmen, mostly from Amal, appeared to be returning fire at the Christian militiamen, who were shooting at army posts from suburban rooftops.

As thousands of refugees, heading the Christian gunmen's ultimatum, fled toward the center of Sidon, most of the port city was shut down, with schools and other public buildings being hastily converted into refugee centers as they were when both Christian and Druze civilians poured into the city during the Chuf Mountain battles in September 1983.

As the battles outside Sidon continued, the Lebanese "national unity" cabinet canceled a scheduled meeting in Beirut in which it had planned to discuss the weeklong revolt by the Lebanese Forces led by Samir Geagea.

Government officials said that Mr. Gemayel would travel to Damascus soon to discuss the political crisis with the Syrian president, Hafez al-Assad, who has deployed troops near the northern edge of the Christian areas south of Tripoli in an apparent attempt to intimidate the Christian militia rebellion leaders.

### Report on Missing Envoy

A kidnapped U.S. diplomat is being paraded through Shiite villages in Lebanon and "publicly tortured and humiliated," the London newspaper, The Standard, said Tuesday. The Associated Press reported from London.

The newspaper, which cited unidentified Shiite sources in southern Lebanon, said the American was thought to be William Buckley, a political officer at the U.S. Embassy in Beirut who was abducted last year.

Mr. Buckley is one of five Americans who have been kidnapped over the past year in Beirut. The Islamic Jihad, a radical Shiite group loyal to Iran's Shiite leader, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, says it is holding them.

In a report from Beirut, United Nations officials and diplomatic sources said that Israeli-backed militia men forced children to stand in front of their gun positions as a shield Tuesday following a shootout with Irish United Nations troops in a Shiite village in occupied southern Lebanon.

Timor Gökse, spokesman for the UN Interim Force in Lebanon, confirmed the account.



A Moslem gunman of the Shiite Amal movement fighting Christian militia in Sidon took cover in a clash Tuesday.

## Nicaragua Evacuating Strongholds of Rebels

By Edward Cody  
Washington Post Service

SAN JUAN DE LIMAY, Nicaragua — Nicaragua has begun to move thousands of peasants out of remote villages in the northern mountains where anti-Sandinist guerrillas have found recruits and refuge.

The authorities have explained the evacuation as an effort to prevent peasant families from getting caught up in the three-year guerrilla war and to provide them with a better life in agricultural cooperatives with schools and clinics.

Relief officials and soldiers from an elite unit of the Popular Sandinist Army said the program also is designed to get the civilian population out of the way for large-scale attacks on Honduran-based rebels who have used the isolated northern mountains as a haven from the pursuing army.

"There will be nobody left there but them and us," said a soldier from the Simon Bolivar Light Infantry Battalion posted in the area of heavy guerrilla activity.

"What they are going to have is a free-fire zone," a foreign diplomat said of the relocations.

The number of peasants being moved is unclear. President Daniel Ortega Saavedra said Sunday that up to 7,000 families, or more than 35,000 people, will be moved this year in the northern war zones. Thousands already have been resettled.

Villagers from jagged hills surrounding San Juan de Limay, a cattle town, said that troops burned some of their houses or punched sticks through the fragile tile roofs to guarantee that the owners would not be able to return. They complained that the soldiers forced them to leave behind planted fields and most of their possessions to come to a settlement of tents set up near the town.

The military authorities have denied that burning houses or other harsh tactics are part of the evacuation policy. Relief officials and refugees in other war-affected zones, such as the Matagalpa and Jinotega regions, have not reported similar destruction of peasant homes during evacuation of villages there.

Sandinist officials have explained that relocated peasants will have access to schools and health care, often for the first time in their lives. Families will receive parcels of land or join cooperative farms created on land purchased or confiscated from large owners, they have said.

Nevertheless, some have questioned whether conservative and highly independent peasants can adapt easily to a new life far from their subsistence-level family farms. A similar evacuation of Indians along the Coco River at the beginning of 1982 led to widespread dissatisfaction, helping turn many into armed rebels.

## Rebels Consider Future Without Aid

(Continued from Page 1)

were peasants from northern Nicaragua angered by severe rationing and the Sandinists' socialist program. Their morale seemed high and the depth of their opposition to the Sandinists made it appear likely that a bitter war will be waged in northern Nicaragua for years to come.

But the founders of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force and its most senior commanders are almost all former members of the National Guard, which was known for its corruption and unwavering loyalty to the dictator Anastasio Somoza, who was toppled in the Sandinist-led revolution of 1979.

On the other hand, the rebels' chief political official, Adolfo Calero Portocarrero, was an opponent of the Somoza regime. Mr. Calero

was jailed for organizing a strike of businessmen against Somoza in 1978.

"We have been called Reagan's army, the CIA's army, every army but our own," Mr. Calero said. "The fact that we continue to exist and operate successfully means that we are here of our own free will. We are no one's creation."

Edgar Chamorro, who was a leading member of the rebels' National Directorate until he was forced to resign five months ago, said that one of his disagreements with the organization was its reliance on National Guard officers.

"They lack social sensibility," he said. "The guard wants to take vengeance and settle accounts. They don't realize things have changed in Nicaragua."

The loss of American support

has forced the rebels to begin learning to wage a smaller-scale guerrilla war, their commanders said. Their chief problem appears to be a reduced flow of supplies rather than a complete cutoff of aid.

Brooklyn Rivera, a leader of one faction of an estimated 1,000 Miskito Indian rebels on Nicaragua's Caribbean coast, and rebels in Mr. Pastora's Sandino Revolutionary Front said that their forces also were critically short of supplies.

The foot soldiers of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force are volunteers between the ages of 13 and 30 who fight without pay, belying Sandinist assertions that they are mercenaries.

The rebel army appears to have no trouble attracting recruits. But the peasant rebels seem to represent a socially and geographically limited segment of the Nicaraguan population, raising questions about the breadth of popular support for the guerrillas. Few middle-class youths or residents of the more populous southern half of Nicaragua have joined the rebel ranks.

There have been several reports of human rights violations by the rebels, including the killing of unarmed civilians. Colonel Bermúdez dismissed the reports as "lots of misinformation."

With the loss of American financing, Mr. Calero said his main task now is raising money and buying supplies. Private businessmen in the United States and "political sectors" in other countries have given the rebels \$5 million in the last nine months, he said.

He visited the headquarters camp last week with a retired United States major general, John K. Singlaub, who said he was trying to funnel assistance to the rebels in his capacity as president of the World Anti-Communist League and the United States Council for World Freedom, based in Phoenix.

Mr. Calero said a shipment of 40,000 hand grenades being unloaded in the camp had been bought from a South American country that was told they were going to a country in Africa.

Reporters saw one box of 40mm ammunition marked "Quartermaster of the Guatemala Army." Several other boxes of ammunition were covered with Arabic writing and one case was marked "Montreal."

Tomorrow: The view from Managua.

## WORLD BRIEFS

### Jailed Solidarity Leader Stages Protest

WARSAW (UPI) — Jerzy Urban, the Polish government spoke confirmed Tuesday that Bogdan Lis, a senior leader of the out Solidarity trade union, has begun a hunger strike in prison. He gave details.

Family sources said that Mr. Lis, 32, was refusing food in a detention center in the port of Gdansk, where he was taken after his latest Feb. 13, to protest his detention without charge or trial. It was not clear whether Wladyslaw Frasyniuk and Adam Michnik, two fellow Solidarity leaders held in the same center, had joined the protest.

Mr. Urban also said that police were investigating the abduction of a French tourist, Frédéric Castaing. He said that Castaing, 41, was arrested in Krakow on March 12 by police who alleged they found Solidarity materials on him. He was released ordered out of Poland two days later, but on March 14 he reports Krakow hospital for treatment of up to 11 second-degree burns abdomen and hands.

### West German Ex-Minister to Be Tried

BONN (Reuters) — A West German court said Tuesday it would try former cabinet minister, Egon Franke, on charges of breach of connection with the disappearance of 5.6 million Deutsche marks (million) from ministerial funds from 1979 to 1982.

The money is alleged to have disappeared from a secret fund in the Inter-German Relations Ministry to buy the release of East German political prisoners. Mr. Franke, 71, a Social Democrat, heads ministry for 13 years under Chancellor Helmut Schmidt. Mr. Franke said that "every cent of the money" was spent properly for human purposes, but the process was highly sensitive and receipts could not be obtained.

An investigation was ordered by his successor, Rainer Bar February 1983 after a parliamentary panel said it had found evidence "gross budgetary violations." The court said Mr. Franke would be with one of his former aides, Edgar Hirt, 47, who is alleged to have withdrawn the money. No date was set for the trial.

### U.S. Doesn't Fear China-Soviet Tie

BEIJING (Reuters) — The United States does not fear China's to improve ties with Soviet Union, Michael H. Armacost, U.S. ambassador to state for political affairs, said Tuesday.

Mr. Armacost, who held two days of foreign policy talks with Minister Wu Xueqian of China, said he could not reveal details of the latest policy toward Moscow. But he said that "in the light of the in the Soviet leadership recently, I think it is quite natural for us to assess if it is possible to secure some improvement in relations."

"We certainly do not fear an improvement in Sino-Soviet relations," Mr. Armacost said. "We are exploring the possibility of improving our relations with the Soviet Union." Asked how Washington China's lack of intervention in Vietnam in support of Cambodian guerrillas, he said there had been considerable activity on the Chinese frontier.

### Alfonso Begins State Visit to U.S.

WASHINGTON (AP) — President Ronald Reagan welcomed Argentine President Radolf Alfonsín on a state visit Tuesday. He was occasion to warn that the Sandinist government in Nicaragua must allow to reverse democratic gains in the hemisphere.

In his response, Mr. Alfonsín urged the United States to continue its policy of nonintervention, while also cautioning the United States from intervening in the Western Hemisphere.

In his remarks, Mr. Reagan also pledged to assist Argentina in its economic problems, but offered no specifics.

## Dutch, After U.S. Protests, Act on Child Pornography

(Continued from Page 1)

and viciousness of child pornography. In addition, many U.S. experts assert that this kind of pornography has a cause-and-effect linkage to statutory rape of underage children and other kinds of sexual violence by pedophiles, or child molesters.

Pedophiles use children for their personal gratification and then often sell pictures or tapes of their acts to other pedophiles, the Federal Bureau of Investigation said in a study that was circulated to European officials. Recent research, it says, indicates that most pedophiles were themselves molested as children. There is also evidence that child abuse can include forced incest.

While clinical evidence is too limited to confirm or disprove assertions that pedophiles are particularly aggressive, several recent court cases dramatized the problem.

In a case last fall, U.S. prosecutors said that more than 100 children, aged between 2 and 10, attending a nursery school outside Los Angeles, were molested for pornographic films.

In the Netherlands, a 6-year-old girl was abandoned in a motel room outside Eindhoven after being drugged with cocaine by a couple that sexually assaulted her on film. She was dead from an overdose when police found her in the motel. Last month the couple was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment, an unusually harsh sentence in the Netherlands.

It is unclear whether child abuse is spreading. Most experts agree, however, that the risks of abuse increase as more busy parents entrust their preschool-age children to day-care centers.

Unscrupulous or ill-managed nursery schools were cited in congressional hearings as terrain where "child predators" seek victims. Many shipments of child pornography have been traced to known pedophiles who had obtained jobs in nursery schools, child-rehabilitation centers or other places that brought them into contact with children.

On child pornography, the climate of opinion has changed. "People, normal people, realize how nasty or extensive it is, and we want to do it," said Klaus de Vries, a member of the States-General Dutch parliament.

The intentions of the two dozen big pornography producers in the Netherlands are unclear. At the premises such group, personnel refuse comment on the new law but insist on defense of their right to explore the limits of sexuality.

But U.S. and Dutch have noted with satisfaction new child pornography appears to be increasingly found in Europe. Many of the recent cases of "Lolita" prints of old pictures, or Asian children.

While U.S. officials as have no illusions that it stamp out sexual exploitation children in the poorest areas, the flow to U.S. can will be sharply cut if the channel via the Netherlands.

### U.S. Considers Mideast Talks

(Continued from Page 1)

peace talks, the United States has held out the possibility of Palestinians being represented on the Jordanian negotiating team, and Israel also has indicated that it would "not look too closely" into whether such Palestinians had been approved by the PLO.

Meanwhile, the Jordanian foreign minister, Taher al-Masri, who is in Washington for talks, called for a positive U.S. response to the Feb. 11 agreement between King Hussein and Mr. Arafat. In a talk to the American Enterprise Institute, Mr. Masri argued that the agreement "solves important issues and removes hurdles the United States and others thought stand in the way of the achievement of a peaceful settlement."

Resolution 242 stipulates states in the Middle East have right to exist in peace and within recognized boundaries. Although the PLO was not specifically mentioned in the resolution, Mr. Masri contended that the United States respond to the Arabs' overture PLO's implicit recognition eventually would be made.

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## AMERICAN TOPICS

### Phones and Banks: Lifelines for Poor?

Deregulation and changing technology have brought on spiraling rates for bank and telephone services. The cost of both to consumers is expected to double or triple by the end of the decade, according to The Washington Post.

This has led consumer groups to urge that poor and elderly Americans be given the same kind of "lifeline" services for banks and phones that are now provided by public utilities, which have taken steps to see that people with low incomes continue to get heat and electricity in cold weather.

Many banks and telephone companies have moved to ease the burden, with an eye to beating lawmakers to the punch. Some critics, conceding that heat and light are necessities, argue that phones and bank accounts are not, and are concerned that declaring them necessities could lead to such "lifelines" forever multiplying.

Consumer spokesmen say that in today's society, banks and telephones are a necessity, not a convenience. But Kirk G. Williams of the American Bankers Association says, "We hate the term 'lifeline.' Banking is not a life-and-death situation as a utility service might be."

### Keeping the 'Higher' In Higher Education

Jacques Barzun, author and critic, wrote a letter to The New York Times deploring the belief that higher education is "to everybody's taste and within everybody's aptitudes. It is, in fact, cruel and unusual punishment to those who lack the native bent, the preparation or both. It is also true that high intelligence, talent and personal and social merit are found in many forms other than academic ability. They deserve



Jacques Barzun

training and recognition on their own ground.

"If this were understood, we would be rid of both the self-serving pieties of educational leaders and of foolish clichés about elitism. It is not elitist for a ballet school to weed out those with weak legs or a baseball training camp to send home those with weak arms," he said.

### Short Takes

Robert Salomon, who said the federal government hid his two teen-age children from him for almost two years while their mother was being protected as a witness in a racketeering trial, has won a \$100,000 settlement from the government. In San Francisco, Mr. Salomon's lawyer said this was the largest settlement in a number of similar suits against the Federal Witness Protection Program.

The potato chip appears to have fought off challenges from "natural" food snacks like bran and granola bars. In 1983 the salted snack food industry, whose mainstay is the potato chip, rang up record sales of \$6.1 billion, up more than 15 percent from the previous year. "Let's

face it," says Isabel Wolf, a U.S. government nutritionist, "not many people are going to relax by eating celery and carrot sticks."

**Shorter Takes:** Problems and uncertainties remain, but New York City has bounced back from the fiscal crisis of the mid-1970s, according to the New York state comptroller, Edward V. Regan. The city is running a budget surplus and is supported by an economy that is in its best shape in 25 years. . . . More selectively by Supreme Court justices, and not Chief Justice Warren E. Burger's proposed national appeals court, would end the court's heavy case load, according to a study directed by two professors at New York University law school, both former clerks of the high court.

### Washington Drinks: Peril for New Yorkers

The cocktail hour can be treacherous for New Yorkers unfamiliar with Washington. The New York Times reports. Working on the mistaken assumption that a cocktail party is a social occasion, New Yorkers invariably arrive too late, stay too long, eat too little, drink too much and, with misplaced sophistication, talk about all the wrong things: their therapists, the exotic currency market, the latest novel, off-Broadway play or all-night sushi bar.

Robert Squier, a Democratic Party political consultant, told The Times, "If you don't realize that Washington cocktail parties are work, that you're supposed to go in knowing, ready to cut a deal, trade information or get something done, you can quickly be labeled a frivolous person. Whereas in New York, if you go to a party and don't know the latest 'in' restaurant, you're totally out of it."

—Compiled by ARTHUR HIGBEE

## R.F. Botha Clashes With Tutu in Televised Debate

**United Press International**  
WASHINGTON — The South African foreign minister, R.F. Botha, clashed angrily in a televised debate with Bishop Desmond M. Tutu, who compared his government's apartheid policies with Nazism.

Mr. Botha, confronting Bishop Tutu on Monday on U.S. televi-

sion, said that blacks would eventually be given a voice in all levels of government but that progress would come more quickly if other nations stayed out of the dispute.

Bishop Tutu, the first black Anglican bishop of Johannesburg and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize last year, said that since peaceful political means had been denied to

black South Africans, the black majority had no alternative but to seek international support.

"When are you going to listen to the victims and stop listening to the perpetrators of something as evil as Nazism and communism?" the bishop asked.

He asked the world community to help end "this vicious system."

Mr. Botha spoke from Cape Town; Bishop Tutu was in Johannesburg. They were brought face-to-face by television monitors.

"To compare us with the Nazis is an insult to the more than 100,000 South Africans of Jewish origin who came to this country and to our forefathers who fought with the Allied powers against Nazi Germany," Mr. Botha replied angrily.

Bishop Tutu condemned South Africa's pass laws under which he said 160,000 blacks were arrested last year for seeking work.

He added that the government, by uprooting 3.5 million blacks and requiring black workers to live away from their families 11 months a year, "destroys black family life deliberately."

Mr. Botha said his government realizes the "national and political aspirations of the urban black people cannot all be satisfied" through a system of semi-autonomous black nations within South Africa.

"It is particularly in respect of these that we have decided we will talk and negotiate and put together structures which will allow them to participate in decision-making at all levels eventually," he said.

That goal can best be achieved, Mr. Botha said, "if only the outside

world can stay out of it for a bit."

He added: "If the impression is created that outsiders are making our decisions for us, then that kind of pressure tends to slow down the process of reform."

**2 Die in Township Unrest**  
Two blacks were killed Tuesday when police fired birdshot during renewed unrest around Port Elizabeth, South Africa. Reuters quoted police as saying. This brought the death toll in five days of violence in South African black townships to nine.

Most of the unrest has taken place in townships near Port Elizabeth, where blacks held a three-day strike to protest rising prices.

**U.S. Companies in Appeal**  
U.S. companies in South Africa publicly urged the government Tuesday to dismantle apartheid laws in order to head off calls in the United States for economic sanctions against the country. Reuters reported from Johannesburg.

The American Chamber of Commerce in South Africa released a document that it had presented to the authorities calling for the abandonment of discriminatory laws. It said the document had been cordially received.



Leendert Plaisier on his Dutch farm which he has proposed as a site for Soviet missiles.

### Dutchman Offers Farm as SS-20 Site

**The Associated Press**  
DRONTEN, Netherlands — A Dutch farmer who wrote a political manifesto advocating nonviolence has offered the Soviet Union his land as a site for their SS-20 missiles if the Netherlands deploys U.S.-built NATO rockets.

Leendert Plaisier said he does not belong to any peace movement, but made the offer because he believes in balance. He said it would "even be safer if no missiles were deployed at all."

He added, "If these 48 rockets are deployed, and I'm sure that will happen, why not counterbalance them with the same number of Soviet missiles? A nuclear equilibrium will make our country a safer place to live in."

Mr. Plaisier, 44, said he went to the Soviet Embassy in The Hague recently to offer his 109-acre (44-hectare) plot in Dronten, a central Dutch farming community, as a deployment site.

Mr. Plaisier said Soviet officials did not make any promises but "agreed they did not like the nuclear buildup either."

He said he would not mind giving up the crops of beets, wheat and potatoes he now grows on the land.

"Yes, it's my bread and butter now," he said. "But I'm not concerned about myself. It's future generations that count."

Mr. Plaisier said he told Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers and the Dronten town council of his offer to the Russians by mail earlier this month. He said Mr. Lubbers sent him a "noncommittal response" and that the council had not replied.

Mr. Plaisier wrote a 102-page personal and political manifesto,

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## Ex-Head of EPA Demands Legal Fees

**By Dale Russakoff**  
**Washington Post Service**  
WASHINGTON — Anne M. Burford has asked the White House to pay \$211,000 of her legal fees, claiming that Attorney General Edwin Meese 3d promised her that the Reagan administration would pay for the expense if she resigned in March 1983 as head of the Environmental Protection Agency.

The agreement was oral and "art of my resignation," Mrs. Burford said in an interview published Monday in Legal Times, a trade publication. "You'd think he'd honor his word, wouldn't you?"

Mr. Meese, who in 1983 was counselor to President Ronald Reagan, refused through a spokesman to comment on Mrs. Burford's remarks. She resigned on March 9, 1983, amid a furor about alleged improprieties at the EPA.

[At the White House, Larry Speakes, the presidential spokesman, said, "The president's feeling on it is that Mrs. Burford should be compensated if it is appropriate." The Associated Press reported.]



Anne M. Burford

Mrs. Burford said she thinks that her claim places Mr. Meese in a difficult position because he is seeking government reimbursement for legal fees of his own — \$720,000 incurred during a special counsel's investigation of alleged financial improprieties.

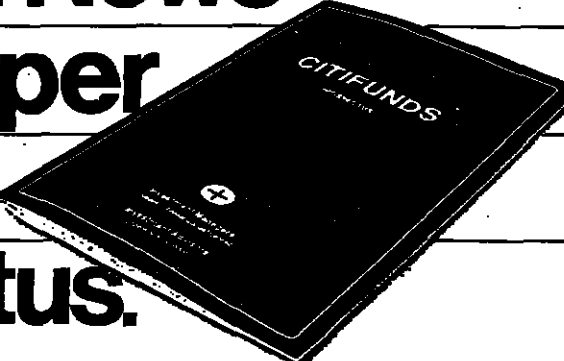
Mrs. Burford said that because the White House has not acted on her request, she plans to file a lawsuit "very soon" to try to force the administration to pay the legal fees she incurred after her resignation.

Mrs. Burford was cited when she refused, under orders from Mr. Reagan, to turn over hundreds of documents to Congress.

## Indictment In Draft Case Upheld in U.S.

**United Press International**  
WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court on Tuesday upheld the federal government's policy of prosecuting only those young men who have publicly disclosed their refusal to register for the military draft.

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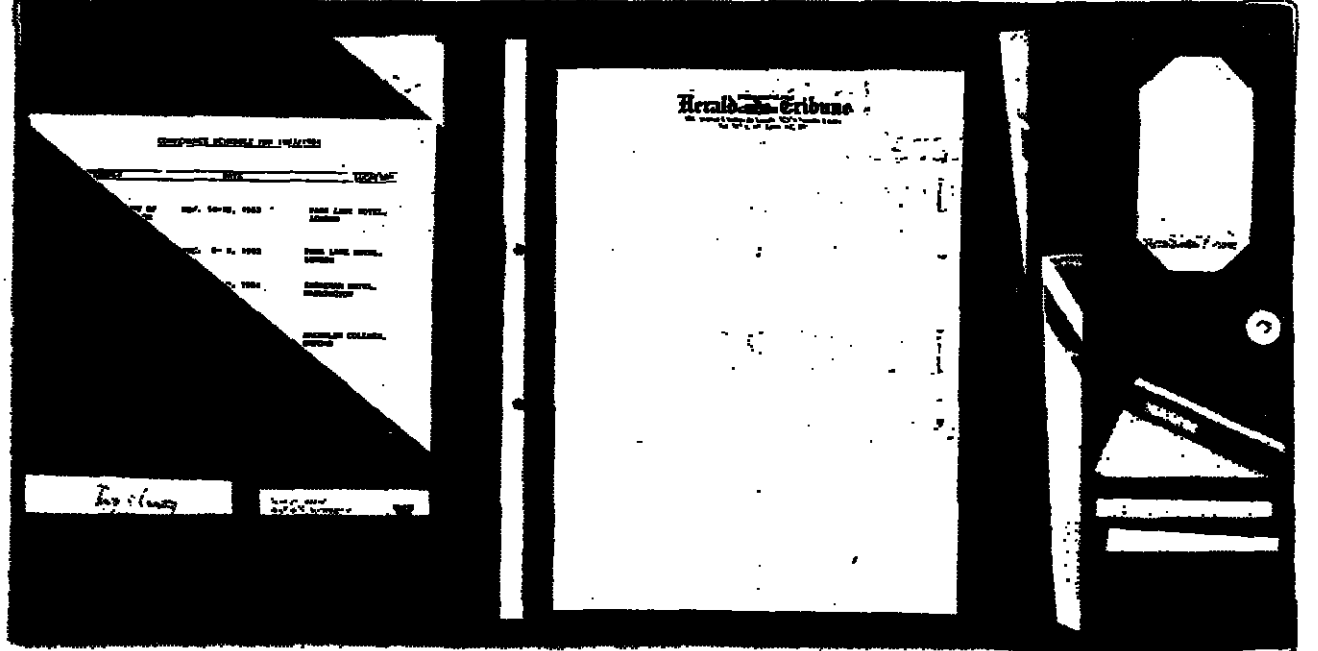
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20-3-85

**Y. Cartier Officials Held**  
**United Press International**  
NEW YORK — The manager and assistant manager of the Cartier jewelry store were arrested Sunday and charged with helping someone to avoid paying more than \$250,000 in New York state taxes over three years, the agency general's office said. The two were accused of having allowed someone to give fake out-of-state addresses to avoid the taxes.

**Considers Middle East**  
The United States will consider the Middle East as a potential source of oil, a senior State Department official said Sunday.







كلدا من اللصل

# Paris Changes: Chinatown-sur-Seine and Zircons at the Louvre

By John Vinocur  
New York Times Service

PARIS — If President François Mitterrand wants to put a glass pyramid in the middle of the Louvre's courtyard — François's zircon, the opposition calls it — Committees of the Indignant form to fulminate and to cry abomination. No one has the right to change Paris, the protesters say, and argue that the city is the patrimony of all mankind.

But Paris changes anyway, too basically, too intangibly for petitions or protest campaigns. Real life in Paris, the waiting-for-a-bus kind of existence, moves on its own, without manifestos or injunctions to stop.

The city's census is out, and it seems to show Paris hanging the way many cities in the United States did 10 and 30 years ago: fewer couples, fewer families, more rich people, more old people, more people, specially women, living alone. The Paris region's population is 8.7 million, but the size of the city itself is declining. The city population is 2,176,652, according to the latest figures, a drop of 700,000 over 20 years.

In the same two decades the number of workers living in Paris declined by half, so that now there are more executives here than people making a living with their hands. The French are disappearing, too. The

French have dwindled by 30 percent and the population of foreigners has increased by 62 percent.

In a way, the changing city knows itself less well. The National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies hired students from the School of Oriental Languages to help conduct the census in areas where

## REPORTER'S NOTEBOOK

the Asian population is large. In one neighborhood, the students came back with the figure of 9,000. The police, connoisseurs of the real city, laughed. The right number, they said, was 25,000.

The headline writers call the place Paris-on-the-Mekong and Chinatown-sur-Seine now, but the truth looks plainer: a bunch of apartment buildings and some signs in Chinese along a frayed edge of the city, postmark Paris 13.

Pictoresque it isn't. Ten years of immigration have left thousands of refugees from Indochina living in the neighborhood's concrete mediocrity. Visually at least, the 13th arrondissement, short on romance or squalor, has less to do with Saigon than Mott Street in New York City has to do with Shanghai.

It is a part of Paris that has changed radically in a decade without too many Parisians taking notice.

But these days the neighborhood has a mystery, a quadruple slaying.

Two weeks ago, someone killed Try Meng Huot, a Cambodian of Chinese origin, and three family members and friends in his 24th-floor apartment in a building called the Tokyo Tower. The police said that the killer or killers daubed a wall with the inscription, in French, "The survivors of Khmer genocide."

Mr. Try, according to a writer on the Khmer Rouge, was once an official of a Cambodian "re-education camp."

If the account is correct, Mr. Try, in time, fell into disfavor and eventually escaped to Thailand. With unexplained help from friends in France, where he had studied, Mr. Try reached Paris.

Then, the account goes, through the assistance of a Socialist member of the National Assembly — and despite a reportedly unfavorable recommendation from the French counterintelligence service — Mr. Try became a French citizen and moved into the Tokyo Tower. The killing followed.

The police say that the political lead could be a false one and that the real explanation for the killings could be drug trafficking, a ring dealing in phony bills, or payoffs in the clandestine sweatshops behind the dull facades of the 13th.

"The cops don't have a clue," said Pierre, a barber who lives in the 13th. "Who's dead, anyway? They don't know. There are never any deaths declared in the

local records office. They live forever in the 13th. Maybe they eat yogurt, like those Russians who are 135. The truth is that somebody dies, and somebody's there the next day with their papers. It's Chinatown."

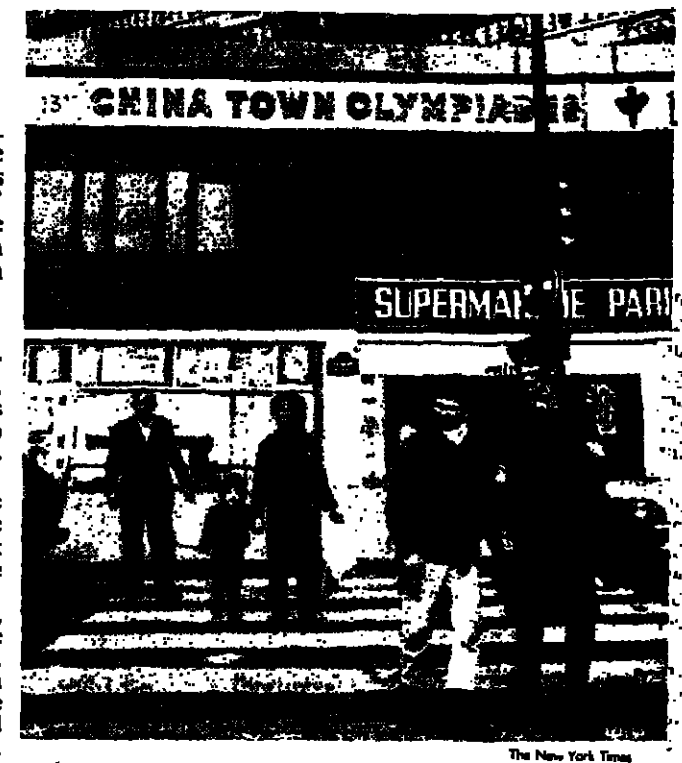
The investigation is proceeding normally, a police inspector said. As for the way of death of the Asian population, the prosecuting attorney's office began an inquiry last year; the results are still to come.

□

The changes that Mr. Mitterrand has in mind for the Louvre are on display in a scale model in a room in the Orangerie in the Tuileries Gardens. The mock-up's scale is such that the pyramid that J.M. Pei designed to house the entrance to the Louvre in the Cour Napoleon looks like a small diamond, or a zircon.

The forces against change, who say the Louvre needs to be renovated but not studded with a stone that looks like it comes from a Métro-station junk shop, got their troops together last week, with one group calling itself SOS Paris.

Michel Guy, a former secretary of state for culture, seems to be holding the marshal's baton and the tactics look like those of a harassment campaign. Although they don't say so directly, the groups seem to think that if the left loses next year, in legislative elections, then the Louvre project, which was started by presidential order, can be stopped, even though Mr. Mitterrand's term runs till 1988.



A street crossing in the 13th arrondissement in Paris.

## Mexico Police Served Drug Traffickers, Records Say

By Juan M. Vasquez  
Los Angeles Times Service

MEXICO CITY — Members of the judicial police force in the state of Jalisco functioned as a private army for narcotics traffickers in Jalisco, performing personal arrests and acting as bodyguards a return for money and cocaine, according to court documents.

The signed declarations of seven suspects in the kidnapping and subsequent murder of a U.S. narcotics agent, Enrique Camarena Salazar, were made public Monday. They noted that Guadalajara's most notorious drug dealers were, in effect, the real bosses of the state police.

One suspect, Gerardo Ramón Torres Lepe, 23, told federal investigators that he was one of five men who abducted Mr. Camarena on Feb. 7, just outside the U.S. Consulate in Guadalajara.

Mr. Torres Lepe is one of six members of the state judicial police who have been arrested in connection with Mr. Camarena's death. The other suspect is a former member of the state police.

All seven made what investigators described as incriminating statements during interrogations, but recanted when they appeared or arraigned Sunday before a federal magistrate, Gonzalo Ballesteros Tena. They said they had been tortured.

Six other men were arrested originally, but one died of acute hemorrhaging of the pancreas, another is being turned over to the state police in connection with another case, and four were released for lack of evidence.

Judge Ballesteros said that the seven men being held were charged with the "global crime" — that is, with the kidnapping and murder of Mr. Camarena and a Mexican pilot, Alfredo Zavala Avelar, who sometimes worked with Mr. Camarena. Under Mexican law, the judge must decide by Tuesday whether to hold the men for trial or release them.

Only Mr. Torres Lepe admitted participation in the actual abduction of Mr. Camarena.

The state judicial police appeared to be virtually at the beck and call of the gangsters. Officers are frequently summoned to accompany drug dealers on trips, to act as bodyguards or simply to wait out in case they were needed.

The statements of the suspects in all of frequent parties, sometimes staying two days, in which they and her policemen acted as bodyguards and bouncers for the narcotics figures.

In some cases, they were paid up \$400 for a night's work. Several of them said that the police commander who died while under investigation, Gabriel González Nuñez, was paid 1.5 million pesos (about \$6,250) by Mr. Camarena and others each month.



ON TRIAL — The British playwright, Harold Pinter, left, and the American playwright, Arthur Miller, third from left, attending the military trial of members of the Turkish Peace Association in Istanbul. The pacifists are accused of aiming to overthrow the constitutional order and bring a Communist dictatorship to Turkey. The playwrights are on a fact-finding visit. Between them is the U.S. political consul, James W. Swigert.

## U.S. Senators Join Geneva Arms Talks

### The Aim: Bipartisan Support for Any Accord with Soviet

By William Drozdiak  
Washington Post Service

GENEVA — The team of U.S. negotiators had just put aside papers, pencils and briefing books after conducting their final brainstorming session on the eve of the first detailed nuclear arms talks between the superpowers in 15 months.

Max M. Kampelman, head of the U.S. delegation to the Geneva arms control talks, turned to the U.S. senators who had been watching in silence as the Americans rehearsed their strategy before the initial meeting with the Russians.

"Don't forget," he admonished them in a friendly way, "I need to have your views, to hear you guys speak out from time to time. Don't be afraid to give your own opinions."

Mr. Kampelman's remarks acknowledged the importance of perhaps the most extraordinary participants in the embryonic dialogue with the Russians on space, strategic and intermediate nuclear arms: the Senate Arms Control Observers Group.

Unlike in any previous negotiations with the Soviet Union, the Senate will be intimately involved in the current bargaining process from the start.

Bringing the Senate into the process could ensure bipartisan support for an eventual agreement, observers say, or it could unleash conflicts that splinter U.S. positions and possibly jeopardize the talks.

"Our long-term objective," the senators said in a joint statement in Geneva, "is to avoid a recurrence of the problems of the 1970s, when three successive arms control treaties, signed by three presidents, were never approved for ratification by the Senate."

The 10-member group was established by a Senate resolution, passed unanimously Jan. 3, to keep the body informed of progress in

the negotiations and to offer advice to the Reagan administration.

Co-chairmen are two Republicans, Richard G. Lugar of Indiana and Ted Stevens of Alaska, and two Democrats, Sam Nunn of Georgia and Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island. Other members include Malcolm Wallop of Wyoming, John W. Warner of Virginia and Don Nickles of Oklahoma, all Republicans, and Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York, Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts and Albert A. Gore Jr. of Tennessee, all Democrats.

All except Mr. Moynihan and Mr. Wallop have visited the talks and already have returned to the United States.

The Soviet Union, annoyed by the string of unratified treaties, has apparently welcomed a more prominent role by Congress.

For the Reagan administration, the benefits of linking five Republican and five Democratic senators so closely with the destiny of the negotiations appear to outweigh potential risks.

Politically, the administration expects to be spared much of the agony incurred by its predecessors if an arms agreement comes up for ratification. Senators from both parties presumably would be more cautious about challenging an agreement shaped along the way by respected peers.

Moreover, the administration believes it will gain more bipartisan support during the talks for such projects as the MX missile and the space-based anti-missile program known as the Strategic Defense Initiative.

The senators, too, want to avoid floor fights over arms control policy and to present a more united American front than was the case during earlier negotiations on strategic and intermediate nuclear weapons.

The Soviet Union broke off those talks in December 1983, when NATO began deploying U.S. Pershing-2 and cruise missiles in Western Europe to counter the Soviet buildup of triple-warhead SS-20 rockets.

Despite the display of U.S. harmony, there are apprehensions about potential problems arising from the unprecedented involvement of Congress in what are viewed as the most complex and delicate negotiations ever undertaken with the Soviet Union.

The senators plan to keep one or two members in Geneva to follow the talks as closely as possible. In addition, they want to be kept informed of private contacts, which provide a chance to drop overtures beyond the formal realm of the bargaining table.

In Geneva, the senators will attend staff meetings, receive briefings from Mr. Kampelman and perhaps join in negotiating sessions as official U.S. observers. They have office space and a budget of \$500,000. In Washington, the senators will have access to all cable traffic to help them stay abreast of the talks.

One fear among U.S. delegates is that sensitive position papers or accounts of the negotiations might be leaked because of the extensive sharing of information with the Senate. The United States and the Soviet Union have agreed to a strict confidentiality rule forbidding any public disclosure of the substance of the talks.

The senators have praised the U.S. negotiating team and gone out of their way to insist they will not do anything to disrupt the work of the negotiators.

When they insist that they will not interfere with the negotiators, several senators said they would not hesitate to go the president with "new ideas" if a deadlock develops in Geneva.

If anything, the Senate's close involvement in the current talks has aided the administration in winning over supporters for the MX missile. Both Mr. Nunn and Mr. Gore said they now planned to vote for a limited number of MX missiles.

Mr. Stevens, a staunch supporter of the MX, said he is much more optimistic about the expected vote on whether to build 21 of the 10-warhead missiles because his colleagues were more sensitive to the notion about "sending the wrong signal" to the Russians if the missiles were canceled.

Similarly, several senators said that Congress was becoming more favorably inclined toward the \$26-billion space research program over the next five years because of the strong recognition that the prospect of the Strategic Defense Initiative brought Moscow back to the negotiating table.

But at some point in the talks, the senators said, the administration would have to consider dispensing with a space-based defense program if that would entice the Soviet Union to accept radical reductions in offensive nuclear weapons.

## U.S. and Soviet Hold 3d Session in Geneva

The Associated Press

GENEVA — U.S. and Soviet arms control negotiators met Tuesday for more than two and a half hours, their longest meeting on substantive issues since the talks resumed a week ago.

A U.S. spokesman described Tuesday's meeting as a full-scale session involving 21 negotiators from each side.

The spokesman said he could not comment on the meeting's agenda because of a confidentiality policy agreed to by both sides.

Max M. Kampelman, the chief U.S. negotiator, waved as he left the Soviet mission with his fellow U.S. negotiators, John G. Tower for long-range missiles and Maynard W. Gitman for medium-range weapons.

The Soviet team is headed by Viktor P. Kasarov, who also is the chief negotiator for long-range weapons. It includes Yuri A. Kvirinsky for space weapons and Alexei A. Obukhov for medium-range missiles.

The negotiators decided to hold the next session at 11 A.M. Thursday at the offices of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the U.S. spokesman said. The two superpowers held their second session last Thursday, and laid down opening positions. The first ses-

sion, on March 12, was reportedly devoted to scheduling matters.

The U.S. spokesman declined comment on assertions by Tass, the Soviet news agency, that the United States "is deliberately heading for blocking" the Geneva talks so it can pursue plans for a space-based missile defense system.

Pravda, the Soviet Communist Party newspaper, accused the Reagan administration of pursuing the MX missile as a "trump card" aimed at pressuring the Soviet Union.

"Congressmen are being subjected to an intensive manipulation," Pravda said. "They are being told that the allocation of funds will ostensibly give the U.S. delegation in Geneva a trump card for pressure on the Russians."

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## IMF Prods Israel On Budget Cuts

Reuters

JERUSALEM — The International Monetary Fund has urged the Israeli government to double its budget cuts, allow unemployment to rise and make it illegal to print too much money.

In a preliminary annual report given Monday to the Bank of Israel, the IMF spoke of some encouraging trends in the past year, such as a decline in consumption, an improved trade balance and higher exports. But it said that major problems remain.

The study, issued by an IMF group that did a two-week study, expressed deep concern at Israel's inflation rate, which now is around 400 percent a year, and at recent large outflows of short-term capital. It also called for a budget cut of \$1 billion in addition to the government's \$1.1-billion cut from its \$23-billion budget for 1985-86.

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## "POSH" VERSUS "GOSH"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TRIBUNE.

Sir,—The origin of the acronym *POSH* is widely known. Coined by the Victorians from the initials of the phrase *Port Out, Starboard Home* it got its present meaning from the fact that these were the cooler and more comfortable—more select—sides of the ship on which to travel and from India.

However I have long felt there was something amiss with this sentiment. It seemed to me that no true Victorian gentleman or lady would ever feel entirely at home aboard a ship that served *port* as a refreshment. Especially when that *port* was bound for the land of quinine and tonic water.

So backing my hunch, I have spent many years researching intensely into that era.

It is apparent that shortly after the discovery of Bombay, *POSH* was superseded by *GOSH*, as in "Gosh, I could do with a drink!" or "Gosh! That's smooth!" Perhaps I should make clear that the *BOMBAY* I am referring to is, of course, the *GIN*.

It is a particularly fine gin with a delicate bouquet that is imparted by the "citricals" used in its manufacture. As it is claimed, it is indeed *BOMBAY* N°1's unique distillation that keeps one used.

And that may explain the origin of *SH*. It stands for "Gin Out, Starry-eyed me."

Dr. Hilary Snell M.A. MSc.,  
Theophilus College, Oxford.



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## INSIGHTS

## Talents of Entrepreneurs Often Threaten the Businesses They Create

By Paul Richter

Los Angeles Times Service

**N**EW YORK—Hard-charging Charles I. Peddie, who had the go-get-em to launch five businesses and the vision to inspire hundreds of employees, loves the grand gesture.

He once whisked senior staff and dealers of his Victor Technologies Inc. by chartered jet from a trade show in West Germany to Paris. Addressing them at a cafe near the Arc de Triomphe, he declared with Napoleonic flourish that he would marshal the "troops" of his struggling computer company to defeat the massed armies of the industry leader, International Business Machines Corp.

But the flamboyant Mr. Peddie has less patience for the mundane details of management, say some former employees. He once told a young budget analyst that any financial planning that could not be done on a calculator-watch was worthless. And on another occasion, to make a point, he ordered Victor's main computer unplugged, losing vital company records in the process.

Such gestures, some would say, are classic symptoms of "entrepreneur's disease," character traits that make Mr. Peddie well-suited to launching companies but less equipped to run them as they grow into large organizations. Those traits were a key reason that Victor, which was once fast growing, last year tumbled into bankruptcy-court reorganization, some former Victor officials contend.

**I**f Mr. Peddie has the ailment, he is not alone. The problem is widespread and widely recognized. George Comstock, founder of Diablo Systems Inc., a Fremont, California, manufacturer of computer printers, defines an entrepreneur as "a guy who takes a company to 50 people, then screws it up."

Treatment of the problem has become a matter of growing concern, and not only because it frustrates the money-making ambitions of businessmen. The routine failure of early-stage entrepreneurial companies means a squandering of U.S. capital and business talent as well as the regular loss of jobs.

Now, as ever more Americans are bitten by the urge to start their own companies, academicians, management consultants and the company-builders themselves are all seeking treatments for entrepreneur's disease. They want to know how entrepreneurs can develop management skills and guide their fledgling companies through the difficult transition to maturity.

"Next to sex and money, I'd say it's what entrepreneurs talk about most," said Joseph R. Mancuso, whose Institute for Entrepreneurial Management holds seminars on how executives can cultivate their companies from small size to large.

The conflict is fundamental, the experts agree.

To succeed, they say, entrepreneurs must be self-confident, decisive and sufficiently self-reliant to handle all facets of their companies'



Steven P. Jobs, left, co-founder and chairman of Apple Computer Inc., and John Sculley, the company's president, with the new Macintosh personal computer. Mr. Sculley got a \$2.5-million bonus to impose discipline on the company.

work. In a single day, the head of a small manufacturing company might be required to modify a product's design, order a shipment of parts, arrange a bank loan and rewrite the company's advertising slogan.

As the company adds staff, however, the entrepreneur is forced to act more and more as an administrator, a "professional manager" who manages a group of managers who must jointly reach decisions and act. This professional manager, according to the experts' consensus, must have the patience to wait out such decisions, to attend to the organization's nuts-and-bolts details, including the myriad personnel problems that arise.

Those activities go against the grain of entrepreneurs, say those who have studied the problem. The very self-reliance that makes them good entrepreneurs makes it difficult for them to delegate; their decisiveness makes it difficult for them to wait out committee decisions. And because they are visionaries, they often do not have the patience to handle the personnel problems. They get bored.

"It's almost like playing the violin and boxing," said Mr. Mancuso. "If your hands can do one, they can't do the other."

The explanation offered by psychologists is that entrepreneurs are often poor managers because they are too involved with turning their very personal dream into reality.

To be sure, there are notable examples of entrepreneurs who prove themselves skilled managers, or who are flexible enough to turn over key administrative tasks to such a person.

For example, the co-founders of Intel Corp.—Gordon E. Moore, Andrew S. Grove and Robert N. Noyce—remain at the helm of the Santa Clara, California, computer-chip manufacturer that they built up to a company with \$1.7 billion in revenues and made a model of good management. And, in a much-publicized success story, Steven P. Jobs, 29, one of the whiz-kid founders of Apple Computer Inc. in Cupertino, California, recruited a PepsiCo executive, John Sculley, 45, with a \$2.5-million bonus to impose system and discipline on the growing company.

But such cases are exceptions. Some entrepreneurs ignore the need for managers entirely.

From 1905 to 1920, Henry Ford built what was the world's most profitable manufacturing company. Ford believed that companies do not need managers at all, but only the entrepreneur and his "helpers," or "courtiers," noted Peter F. Drucker, a management professor, in his work, "Management." Ford dismissed or sidelined any helper who dared to act as a manager and kept a corporate "secret police chief" to root out any stirrings of individual initiative.

As a result, between 1920 and 1927, Ford's business empire fell apart, fading to a poor third in the market and losing money almost every year for 20 years.

Entrepreneurs' errors are usually not so extreme, however. The company-builders more commonly slip up because of overconfidence or their preoccupation with long-term goals, say the management experts. Immersed in their dream of dazzling the world, entrepreneurs often try to do too much, spreading their companies' efforts across too many products.

Some believe such a misconceived strategy brought about the decline of Storage Technology Corp., of Louisville, Colorado, a former high-flyer that has been in bankruptcy court reorganization since last November.

The company was founded by Jesse I. Aweida, a Palestinian-born engineer who left IBM with 11 other engineers in 1972. Storage Technology grew to peak sales of more than \$1 billion in 1982 as a maker of data-storage devices.

**B**UT at Mr. Aweida's urging, Storage Technology began trying to develop products in several kinds of technology, including large-scale computers, and the data-storage devices called optical disks and disk drives. That spread its capital and administrative resources too thin, say industry observers, hurting its core business.

"They were doing great, and then it was like something happened to Jesse," said an executive familiar with the company. "It was like he got carried away by the entrepreneurial impulse."

Successful entrepreneurs frequently lose their way directing companies through a layer of managers. But what they often do best is guide and motivating the small groups that join them in founding their company.

Former employees say such was the case with Seymour I. Rubinstein, who founded the software company MicroPro International Ltd., of San Rafael, California, publisher of the top-selling word-processing program WordStar.

Mr. Rubinstein, the founder of six companies, "is a street-smart guy in a world of 16-year-old wonders," said an industry consultant, Esther Dyson.

Mr. Rubinstein's chief talent, say former employees, was an ability to lead a crusade. Seymour was the bearer of light, and we'd follow him anywhere," said Will Liden, a former MicroPro marketing director.

But growth brought Mr. Rubinstein's management shortcomings to light.

"Everything that made him a great entrepreneur made him a failure as a manager," said Mr. Liden.

The company continued to hire "inspired amateurs" as it grew, he said, rather than the business specialists that it needed. Budgeting was inadequate, so that when the company began losing money in 1982, officials were not sure whether it was from overstaffing or because other costs were too high, Mr. Liden said.

Mr. Rubinstein relinquished his role in MicroPro's day-to-day operations last year and became chairman emeritus.

Students of business say entrepreneurs often err by spending too much time on the activities at which they are strongest. Royden C. Sanders, for instance, says he would have run his three businesses differently if he had recognized that his chief skill and interest lay in the product development side of business.

At his first company, Sanders Associates Inc., he led the company to branch out from its

established business as a military contractor into commercial sales. When the company

Sanders to give up his 24-year presidency. Mr. Sanders said his co-founders "just a mentally faster than I did. They wanted to be in the government business, while I saw markets to conquer."

At his second company, Santez Corp., Amherst, New Hampshire, Mr. Sanders spent three years developing a computer printer that was one of the first of its type. But the company he acknowledges, did not have enough capital marketing strength. In 1980, he led the company through a bankruptcy-court reorganization.

Now Mr. Sanders has a company called Techco, which designs computer peripherals. He technicians and engineers and he vows to keep at that size.

Former managers at Victor Technologies the missionary zeal of its founder, Charles Peddie, was invaluable in launching the company, based south of San Francisco. But he was preoccupied with making Victor a leading computer-maker that he overlooked financial details and spent extravagantly, they say.

John Cole, who was a budget analyst purchasing official at Victor, remembers Peddie as a blunt-spoken boss who worked in jeans and a blue Ultramarine jacket and who "was always involved in three conversations, two of them arguments."

**W**HEN he founded Victor in 1980, Peddie had distinguished himself as an engineer by designing the chips used today in the Apple II and Macintosh lines of computers, and the mass-marketed home computer, the PET. (Initially, the initials stand for Personal Electronic Transactor, although industry wags tag it "Peddie's Ego Trip.")

For his part, Mr. Peddie contends that seeming extravagances were necessary to the company noticed in a highly competitive business. The costly network of regional offices, in hindsight, a bad decision, he says. "But how could I have known sales were to collapse?"

Mr. Peddie asserts that the company's problems arose when IBM suddenly "ate up" market for personal computers. "When happened they could have brought in a Christ himself and it wouldn't have made a difference," he said.

Now the head of a computer design consulting firm, Mr. Peddie says he faces bills of about \$500,000 from shareholders suits that contend that he and other V officials failed to disclose the firm's financial problems soon enough.

Those bills might force him into per bankruptcy, says Mr. Peddie, but they can stifle his entrepreneurial drive.

"If I could find backers, sure, I'd love to again," he said.

## Faint Stirrings of Peace Thrust Israel's Weizman Back into the Limelight

By Edward Walsh

Washington Post Service

**J**ERUSALEM—"Without me," said Ezer Weizman, "Shimon Peres would not be the prime minister."

The setting hardly befitted a man who claims to be the kingmaker of Israel's national unity government. Mr. Weizman's office, down the hall from where Mr. Peres presides over the government, is small and spartan, decorated with reminders of the occupant's military and political past.

For most of the first six months that the national unity government has been in office, Mr. Weizman has labored in relative obscurity. But events of the last few weeks—the resumption of a dialogue between Israel and Egypt, the faint stirrings in the moribund Middle East peace process—have thrust him into the limelight once again.

When Mr. Peres went to Europe late last month, he took Mr. Weizman with him. On the surface it was an odd choice, for Mr. Weizman is a minister without portfolio whose principal mandate is to look after Israel's 700,000 Arab citizens. But Mr. Weizman also is known in Israel as "Mr. Egypt." He was a great friend of Anwar Sadat and Mr. Peres knew that in Bucharest he would be meeting a secret envoy from Mr. Sadat's successor, Hosni Mubarak.

A few days later, when Mr. Mubarak dispatched two more envoys to Jerusalem, Mr. Weizman was one of only a handful of Israeli government ministers who met with them in Mr. Peres's home and office. And in the days since then, he played a leading role in defending the government's initially favorable response to the Mubarak initiative against rightist criticism that it was all "a trap" or a "public relations play" before Mr. Mubarak's trip to Washington.

"I prefer in general to say yes more than no," Mr. Weizman said. "One can always say no."

One senior official who is close to the prime minister said, "Weizman pushes Peres in directions that Peres wants to be pushed."

**I**MPPLICIT in this observation is the fact that the divisions in Israel's government are not just between the Labor Party and the Likud bloc, but within the two main government partners. Mr. Peres and Mr. Weizman were more enthusiastic about the recent flurry of Egyptian-Israeli contacts than were some

other Labor Party officials, among them Mr. Peres's old party rival, Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin.

The photographs in Mr. Weizman's office recall his past, and some would say his transformation from hawk to dove. On one wall, there is a picture of him in a British Spitfire during World War II, when he learned to fly, and on another wall there is a photo of a U.S.-made F-15, the cutting edge of the modern Israeli Air Force. Mr. Weizman flew in that air force, later commanded it and finally, as minister of defense, oversaw its development.

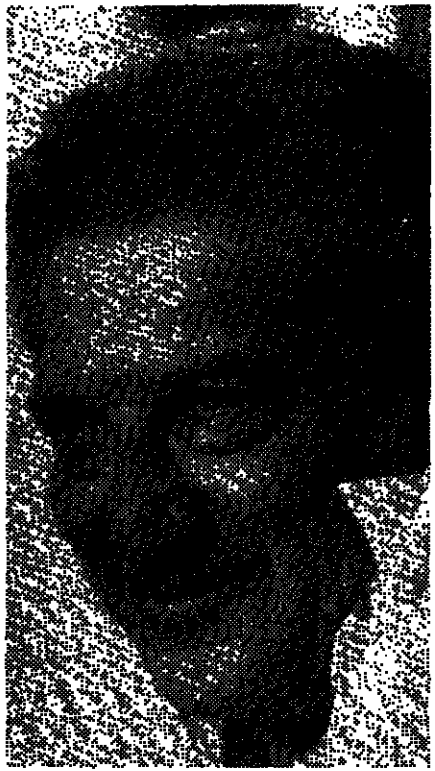
Other pictures in the room recall Mr. Weizman's proudest political moment—the 1978 Camp David peace conference. He is pictured there with Sadat and President Jimmy Carter. On the wall directly behind Mr. Weizman's small desk, there is a picture in which he takes special pride. It shows the young air force officer seated at a table in the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, flanked by Israel's two most bitter political rivals—David Ben-Gurion, prime minister from the Labor Party, and Menachem Begin, founder of the Herut Party, the key element in today's rightist Likud alignment.

Mr. Weizman used the photograph during last summer's parliamentary election campaign to symbolize his stance somewhere between the country's two main political power centers. At the head of a new party he called Yehud (Togetherness), he refused to say whether he preferred a Labor or Likud-led government to emerge from the election.

When the election produced a virtual deadlock between Labor and Likud, Mr. Weizman's party, which captured three seats in the Knesset, Israel's parliament, held the balance of power. His decision to join the Labor Party doomed any chance that Likud could assemble a parliamentary majority on its own, making a government of national unity the only realistic alternative. Mr. Weizman's claim to have "made" Mr. Peres prime minister is no idle boast.

Now that the election is over, Mr. Weizman can afford to be more candid. Mr. Weizman, who was forced out by Mr. Begin as defense minister in a Likud government because of differences over putting the Camp David accords into effect, said in a recent interview: "I did not want to see the Likud back in power. As Sadat used to say, 'for sure.'"

So, at 60, Mr. Weizman has cast his lot with the Labor Party, and with its more dovish wing. He suggested that when the national unity gov-



Ezer Weizman

ernment breaks up he would not mind being named foreign minister in a new Labor-led government under Mr. Peres.

**I**n the meantime, Mr. Weizman is devoting most of his time to the myriad problems of Israel's Arab minority, a subject he calls "fascinating" and "a hell of an Israeli problem." He has eliminated various special government offices dealing with Arabs, hoping thereby to force a small measure of integration in Israeli society, and he is seeking to encourage economic development in the heavily Arab sections of the country.

"The animosity between Arabs and Israelis is so great now, worse than before," he said. "I think it is due to the long years of war, and to a basic, latent fear and perhaps lack of confidence. There is a lack of confidence in Israel in the whole peace process."

Mr. Weizman clearly does not share that lack of confidence. Mr. Begin, he said, was a "hawk," but he seized the opening for peace with Egypt. Mr. Weizman would like to be known in the same way, as "a hawk for peace." At the same time, he shares in the almost unanimous Israeli consensus on the limits of compromise. "I do hope King Hussein understands that he will never have Jerusalem back," Mr. Weizman said.

In a recent televised debate with Moshe Arens of the Likud bloc, Mr. Weizman further solidified his image as an exponent of negotiations with the Arabs by referring to Fahd Kawasmeh, the exiled mayor of Hebron in the Israeli-occupied West Bank, with the Hebrew phrase that means "of blessed memory."

Mr. Weizman's remark shocked some Israelis because Mr. Kawasmeh, shortly before his assassination in Amman, Jordan, in December, had been elected to the executive committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization. But Mr. Weizman brushed aside the criticism, recalling that in the various stages of his career—as fighter pilot, defense minister and now champion of renewed contacts with Egypt—his relationship with the Arabs has never been simple or one-dimensional.

"I kicked him out of the country," Mr. Weizman said, recalling one early morning in 1980 when Mr. Kawasmeh was expelled from the West Bank following the murder of six Jews in Hebron. As he pushed Mr. Kawasmeh into a helicopter that would take him to Lebanon, and from there to exile in Amman, Mr. Weizman said he apologized.

## Sense of Disillusionment Grows in Israel

After 6-Month Political Truce, Divisions Reappear Over Mideast Strategy

By Jim Hoagland

Washington Post Service

**J**ERUSALEM—After a six-month political truce enforced by a national unity government that has joined the Likud and Labor parties in shared policies, Israel's political leaders are gingerly resuming their national debate over the future of the country's relations with its Arab neighbors.

The coalition government has enabled Israel to impose austerity measures on a chaotic economy and to begin the withdrawal of its army from the occupation of Lebanon. Now, divisions over broader Middle East strategy are surfacing again because of an ambiguous Egyptian proposal to get talks started on the West Bank territory of the Jordan River.

Talk of new peace initiatives and the unlikely prospect of King Hussein of Jordan suddenly agreeing to territorial negotiations with Israel have sent fleeting shadows across the unity painstakingly developed by Prime Minister Shimon Peres and Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir on other matters.

"Lebanon was not an ideological problem," Mr. Shamir observed during an interview in which he praised the responsibility-sharing aspects of the coalition government. "Judea and Samaria is an ideological problem" between Labor and Likud that could threaten the coalition, he added, using the biblical names preferred by Likud leaders for the West Bank.

Likud "would never accept that we embark on a search for territorial compromise" with Hussein if Hussein were to put forward such a proposal, said David Levy, the Moroccan-born minister of housing who is seen by many as Mr. Shamir's successor as head of Likud. "We are working together well now, but there are unrealistic things that would cause the government to fall."

Interviews with Mr. Levy, Mr. Shamir and other senior Israeli political leaders suggest that Israel approaches the sixth anniversary of the Camp David peace accord, and the end of its military involvement in Lebanon, in a mood of disappointment and disillusionment with the country's ability to transform the attitudes of its Arab neighbors either through peace or war.

That frustration in turn translates into declining interest in exploring the prospects for agreements of any sort with Arab countries involving new exchanges of territory for peace, the interviews suggest.

**C**AMP David, in this view, produced only a "cold peace" with Egypt instead of the full range of relations that Israel was promised in return for giving back all Egyptian territory conquered in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. That frustration appears to extend into Mr. Peres's Labor Party, which is nominally committed to negotiate with Hussein to relinquish part of the West Bank in return for peace. It is also producing new support within Labor for political arrangements with Hussein that exclude giving up territory.

"It could be that we have to come to an understanding on sharing" jurisdiction on the West Bank and Gaza, said Ezer Weizman, Mr. Peres's informal adviser on Arab affairs and minister without portfolio in the coalition government. "Today you have to say that the autonomy plan for the West Bank" designed by Prime Minister Menachem Begin in 1979 "was a good beginning." Mr. Weizman said, adding that "the final result may be something in between autonomy and a territorial concept."

For many Israelis, Mr. Weizman indicated, another approaching anniversary may be at least as important as the March 26, 1979, signing of the Camp David accord on the White House lawn.

"Next year we will have been on the West Bank for 19 years," he said. "That is exactly the same time that Hussein was on the West Bank." Jordan took control of the territory, which had been part of the mandated territory of Palestine, during the 1948 Arab-Israeli war.

The growing sense of permanence that the Israeli presence on the West Bank inspires today and the pattern of settlement there during the past two years strongly suggest that the West Bank already may have slipped beyond Hussein's grasp.

"Hussein likes to live," Mr. Levy said in French, "and he knows he cannot afford to give up a half, or a fourth, of Judea and Samaria. And neither will Israel share like that, not one half, not one fourth. We have to talk about political sharing, about autonomy for the people who live there, but not about territory."

**T**HE passage of time since Mr. Begin got Anwar Sadat and Jimmy Carter to agree to center the first phase of negotiations about the Palestinian-inhabited territories on self-rule rather than on territory has had another paradoxical effect. Many members of Likud who initially were opposed to or unenthusiastic about the Camp David accord have become its strongest advocates.

"People who voted against Camp David are even more determined to make it work now than those who voted for it," said Moshe Arens, a former defense minister and ambassador to Washington and now a minister without portfolio. As a Likud member of the Knesset, Mr. Arens voted to reject the peace agreement.

"We thought then that the price was too high," he said. "We are in the position of having paid the full price for the ticket, and we want to get to the destination we're supposed to reach."

Mr. Arens, Mr. Levy and Mr. Shamir insisted in separate interviews that the Camp David arrangements for autonomy talks between Israel and Jordan, with Palestinian participation, must form the next step in the peace process. Hussein has said that he will join peace talks only on the basis of the return of all of the territory occupied in 1967.

"If Hussein steps forward and says he wants to make a deal on the basis of territorial compromise, there will be serious problems" within the coalition, Mr. Arens predicted. "Likud will say we cannot do that," while Labor is bound by its previous position to explore such an offer.

At that point, Mr. Levy predicted, there would be a rupture in the coalition and new elections in which he would challenge Mr. Shamir for the party leadership. If Mr. Shamir were to falter, Mr. Levy undoubtedly would face challenges from Mr. Arens and Ariel Sharon, the minister of industry and commerce who, as defense minister, led the Israeli Army into Lebanon in 1982.

It is the winding down of that war that has left Israelis perplexed about the utility of military power in trying to reshape Arab countries into more pliable partners.

Mr. Levy and Mr. Arens, for example, supported the initial invasion, which destroyed the Palestine Liberation Organization as a military force on Israel's border.

**N**OW, both frankly admit to disillusionment about the final results of an operation that failed to implant Lebanon's Christian minority in firm control of the country and will have kept Israeli troops there for three years by the time the withdrawal is completed this summer.

"I came to recognize that the time had come to leave, that there is no viable partner there for Israel to work with," Mr. Levy said in explaining his decision in January to break ranks with his Likud colleagues and support the withdrawal.

al plan drawn up by Defense Minister Yeh Rabin. "I realized that any agreement, even is the best agreement, would not be worth paper it was written on. There is no respect anything in that country."

Mr. Arens said: "Israel is a strong cow but a small country. Israel can win wars, but far more difficult to obtain political aim war, since we cannot impose total defeat larger Arab countries. As defense minister I last Likud government, Mr. Arens sought reach security arrangements with Shiite will in southern Lebanon to enable Israeli troop withdrawal peacefully."

"The political change we sought in Lebanon did not work out," he said. "I still find it difficult to understand why our very efforts to come to terms with the Shaites did succeed. We should be working together, but can't."

The rising tide of assaults on the withdrawn Israeli troops and the harsh retaliatory that the Israelis are staging against Shiite lages in the south has dampened much a debate about the consequences of Lebanon provided a strong impetus for unity within coalition government.

These tactics would have been impossible they had not been undertaken by a national unity government," Mr. Shamir said in a parent reference to the strong criticism by bor of the Israeli siege of Beirut in the sun of 1982. "A government with a limited would have been criticized in Israel."

**A**IDES to Mr. Peres are quick to praise Shamir's constructive role in holding coalition together thus far. After t ing separately with their cabinet ministers two men confer in Mr. Peres's office or a home on Friday afternoons to reach agree that are ratified in the weekly cabinet meet on Sunday.

Under the agreement setting up the coal government after inconclusive elections summer, Mr. Shamir is due to succeed Mr. as prime minister after 24 months. This w give Likud a strong advantage in setting elections that are scheduled to be held, the agreement, two years after that.

Mr. Shamir appears to be suggesting in I circles that he may agree to step down to allow Mr. Arens, Mr. Levy and Mr. Sham contest the leadership of the bloc in the election.

Political analysts suggest that it would Mr. Peres's interest to engineer a breakup coalition and force new elections before h to yield power to Mr. Shamir. Both leaders that they expect such a breakup, unless Hu were to force the coalition, the hot pots agreeing to direct negotiations.

This does not appear to be a serious prot ity at the moment. Beyond Hussein's reluct to start such negotiations without guar that he will get the West Bank and East Je lem back stands the hardening sense in I that the greatly increased pace of Israel's ment during Likud's seven years in power, overtaken whatever chance for meaningful torial compromise may have existed.

The coalition has agreed to build six settlements under the terms of the agree but has taken no steps to do so. Mr. Peres's acknowledge that this is due primarily to a of money, but they hint that this should seized on by the Arabs as a sign of Mr. Peres's willingness to seek peace through compromise.

But a study released this month by the Bank Data Base Project said Likud built on housing before office to accommodate the flow of new settlers on the West Bank the 1986.

## Herald Tribune

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ARTS / LEISURE

# Privacy Is Golden In Florida Enclave

By Jon Nordheimer  
New York Times Service

HOBE SOUND, Fla. — Two indomitable landmarks guard at either end of Jupiter Island, a narrow barrier island about 25 miles (40 kilometers) north of Palm Beach.

To the south there is the lighthouse at Jupiter Inlet, a beacon to warn away the wayward coming in on the sea.

To the north there is Permelia, an upright and vigilant septagenarian who watches over Hobe Sound, the exclusive enclave where silence about the private lives of the residents is as golden as their credit ratings.

For half a century Reed has been a part of the gates to what many consider the most exclusive winter retreat in Florida. Here old-money names — Doubledays, Paysons, Orlins, Scrantons, Dukes, Veyerhaeusers, Mellons — own houses that by Palm Beach standards are cheap, even scruffy.

"All the people here want to keep a low profile," said G. Sealy Jewell, whose family was one of the first to move to Hobe Sound in the 1930s when Reed and her husband bought most of Jupiter Island and began selling parcels to friends from Greenwich, Connecticut. The widow of Joseph Verner Reed, who inherited a mining fortune, has run the nine-mile-long island like a private club ever since.

"The Greenwich mafia was completely unlike the crowd in Palm Beach," said one resident, who, like most other property owners interviewed, did not want her name published. "They've already limbed the ladder and don't need to tell everyone what they've got."

"No one dresses up except for a

party. Frayed button-down shirts and chinos are the uniform, and a good 'woodie,' an old Ford station wagon with wood side panels, is preferred over a Rolls-Royce."

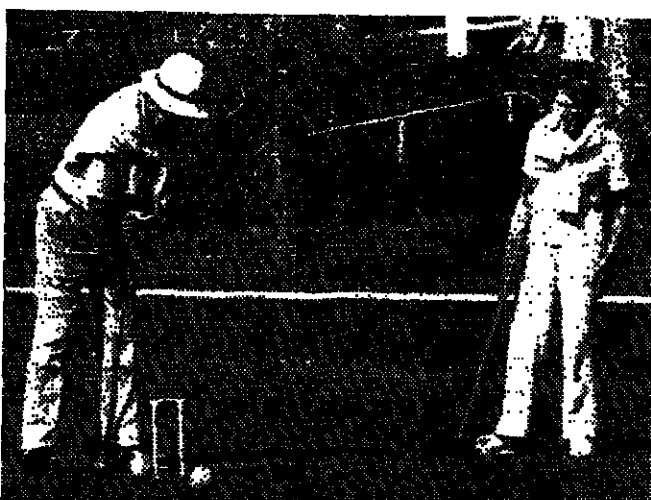
Now the number of homes has ballooned to 400, with houses going up on the few empty parcels. The old guard is changing and Permelia is losing control over who buys or builds on the island, the resident said. "But crossing her still means social suicide."

From earliest days, membership in the Jupiter Island Club was the key to social acceptance. One did not get in unless sponsored by four members.

Reed, approached by a recent visitor after the annual garden show at the Presbyterian Church, was gracious but unbending. "You won't get any help," she said. "We don't want any publicity and no one will help you. You won't get one word out of us."

Reed and her friends technically live in the Town of Jupiter Island in Martin County. It is an incorporated community of 389 registered voters, occupying the one-half-mile-wide island bordered by the Atlantic Ocean and the Intracoastal Waterway. Before the town was incorporated in 1953 it was known as Hobe Sound because that is the name of the hamlet on the mainland where the nearest post office was. Mail still comes addressed to the Hobe Sound Post Office and insiders still call their part of the island Hobe Sound.

The southern tip of Jupiter Island extends into Palm Beach County for about half a mile. Consequently it contains elements that would be unacceptable on Reed's side of the county line: ethnic diversity, condominiums, even a celebrity or two.



Members of the Jupiter Island Club playing croquet.

Celebrities are definitely not welcome in Hobe Sound, as they are across the county line in Jupiter Inlet Colony, where Perry Como and Tammy Wynette have homes.

Thick clumps of vegetation shut off most of the homes from view on the two public roads on the island. A town ordinance prohibits vehicles from stopping on the roadside.

"Anyone who looks slightly suspicious and stops or parks on the island will have a policeman checking him out within minutes," said Carole Jayne Watts, the leading real-estate agent on the island and a resident.

The town is run by a manager and town commission, all of them property owners, members of the Jupiter Island Club, and unpaid.

The mayor is John Mulliken, former deputy press secretary to Nelson Rockefeller and a permanent resident. In some circles, he said, there was a sense of unease over changes in the past decade or two as the Hobe Sound area came under the pressures of increased development. "Most of the first generation of homeowners are retired," he said, "and more people are living here year-round, which was unheard of in the old days."

## Viennese Recall 1945 Staatsoper Bombing

By Jola Zalud  
Reuters

VIENNA — As political leaders get ready to mark the 40th anniversary of the end of World War II, music-loving Viennese have another anniversary on their minds.

A U.S. bombing raid on March 12, 1945, destroyed the 19th-century Staatsoper (State Opera), a musical landmark. When the bombs hit the Renaissance-style edifice on the Ringstrasse, sets for 120 productions and about 160,000 costumes were also lost.

"It seemed almost ominous the last opera performance before it was destroyed was Richard Wagner's 'Götterdämmerung,'" recalled an opera fan who was on the spot after the raid. "What I saw made me cry, and though I'm no religious man, I couldn't help thinking the punishment of God had fallen upon us."

Despite the hunger and misery afflicting postwar Vienna, the rebuilding of the Staatsoper was given top priority. A replica of the old opera house opened in November 1955 with Beethoven's "Fidelio" under the baton of Karl Böhm.

Tickets now cost up to 2,000 schillings (almost \$90), but the 1,642 seats and 567 standing places are virtually always sold out. Some subscriptions are inherited.

The old building opened on May 25, 1869, in the presence of Emperor Franz Josef, with Mozart's "Don Giovanni." Gustav Mahler, Böhm, Clemens Kraus and Herbert von Karajan are among those who have held the post of opera director, considered one of the toughest in the world.

"There are always problems with directors. The Viennese are so particular," an opera spokesman said.

In 1964 von Karajan quit after a dispute with management and threatened never to return. His eight stormy years in the post saw two strikes by the staff, one in support of him and one against. He was a favorite, though, and was hailed by enthusiastic fans when he retired and came back to conduct Verdi's "Don Carlos" in May 1977.

When Egon Hugo Seefehlner retired in 1982 the management decided to revert to the tradition of a famous conductor as head of the house. Lorin Maazel was chosen as

## 'Other Places' Is Instant Guide to Pinter's Career

By Sheridan Morley  
International Herald Tribune

LONDON — "Other Places" (at arrangement except at the Manhattan Theatre Club off-Broadway last autumn).

### THE LONDON STAGE

therefore not exactly new, but have never been seen before in this arrangement except at the Manhattan Theatre Club off-Broadway last autumn.

This is very much the road-show version. Colin Blakely goes through all three dramas as the doctor in "A Kind of Alaska," the mini-cab controller in "Victoria Station" and the sadistic interrogator in "One for the Road," while Dorothy Tutin plays (as she did recently on television) the patient awaking from a 30-year sleep in "A Kind of Alaska."

What is useful about this coolly efficient production by Kenneth Ives is that it offers newcomers and old addicts alike a kind of instant guide to the Pinter career. Here we have him in one of the sketches ("Victoria Station") that made his name, then in two of his more recent departures.

"A Kind of Alaska" is, unusually for him, derived from a book, and a book of medical fact. Oliver Sack's "Awakenings" was a 1974 account of the arousal from decades of catatonic lethargy of sleeping-sickness patients brought back to life by the drug L-dopa. Pinter has taken it as the starting point for the story of just one Englishwoman, who at 16 fell into a coma and is now being brought around by her sister and her brother-in-law, who is also her doctor.

In the National production, Judi Dench gave a haunting portrayal of a woman whose body is being rapidly unfrozen while her mind refuses to thaw out quite so fast. "You've aged, substantially," she told her sister as if the unfortunate woman had put on weight in all the wrong places. The new production is inclined to focus far more on the relationship of the doctor and his wife (Susan Engel), whose marriage has been as permanently interrupted as Tutin's life by the sleeping sickness, and that shaft of balance leaves the patient oddly stranded in her hospital bed.

Tutin is a memorably childlike Sleeping Beauty, but you never feel, as you did with Dench, that she has even begun to come to terms with the full horror of waking up again.

"Victoria Station" has also been fractionally altered for the worse. Paul Rogers originally played it as a restrained, chilly little piece about a mini-cab controller suddenly discovering at the other end of his radio system a sinister driver who may or may not have a murdered body on the back seat of his taxi.

Blakely goes for out-and-out farce and a lot of wrenching the microphone out of its socket, which is a pity given that this is something much more eerie than a knock-about sketch.

In the last play, too, Blakely is oddly ill at ease, lacking the fine, silky evil that Bates brought to the role of the child killer in a police state.

At the King's Head, "Look to the Rainbow" is a celebration of Yip Harburg, the lyricist of "The Wizard of Oz" and "Finian's Rainbow," among 50 or so lesser Broadway and Hollywood musicals.

Though written and directed by Robert Cushman, the evening really belongs to Jack Gifford, who in his London stage debut offers a likable impression of Harburg as an all-knowing gnome out of one of his own whimsical works.

The problem with any show built around a lyricist rather than a composer is that it lacks musical or dramatic coherence. Harburg appears to have been an amiable hack, available for anything from depression cynicism ("Brother Can You Spare a Dime?") to over-the-rainbow schmaltz, and one of the weaknesses of Cushman's brief linking script is that it never explains how he managed to build an entire career out of no more than two major Broadway hits.

He wrote some endearing and enduring songs, but when he attempted anything like a philosophy it was of the most sickeningly sentimental kind, and even his brush with the McCarthy committee seems to have given him writing only the very faintest edge of satire. For the rest, it was distinctly sub-Ogden-Nash, and wonderful though it is to see Gifford in the flesh, this "Rainbow" might have worked a lot better as a record or a radio show.

No West End management in recent years has done more than that of Michael Codron to keep intelligence, dignity and integrity in the commercial theater, and it is not hard to see what attracted him to see Gifford in the flesh, this "Rainbow" might have worked a lot better as a record or a radio show.

"Why Me?" may be a little fragile and frayed around the edges, but for those who found "Benefactors" or "The Real Thing" too high-powered or intellectually inaccessible, here is the paperback version of the way we live now.

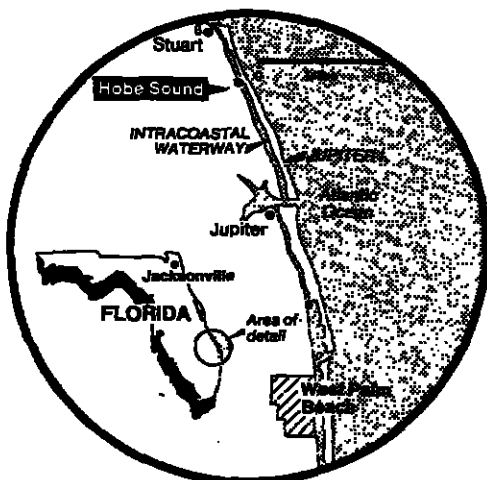
Richard Briers is a civil engineer suddenly forced by a company takeover to join the British army of three million unemployed. Around him and his situation Price has neatly arranged some televisual stereotypes (the amorous wife next door, the successful-executive wife at home, the all-knowing mother living "like a caged whippet" in a tiny apartment) and puts them in the soap opera of the recession.

As Briers is rejected for job after job, his wife rises to dizzy heights of success as a pizza-and-instant-cheese vendor. As he falls into bed with the comely neighbor, his son turns out to be a transvestite and a failed rock singer to boot.

Briers is far and away the best tragicomic comedian in the commercial theater, and when his son tells him he is playing drag clubs in Kent, the mixture of despair and amazement with which he replies "In Kent?" unerringly going for the one thing in the equation that really doesn't matter, is alone worth the price of admission.

Diane Fletcher as the wife and Polly Hemmingsway as the neighbor do what they can with sketchily written roles. It is left to Liz Smith as the eccentric mother in bringing the only genuinely new touch to Robert Cushman's otherwise predictable production.

Ending Saturday at Greenwich is Nigel Williams' "My Brother's Keeper," a brilliantly touching account of two sons fighting over a hospital bed to keep their old actor father from going gentle into that good night. If we get a better new play than this in the rest of 1985, we shall be more than lucky.

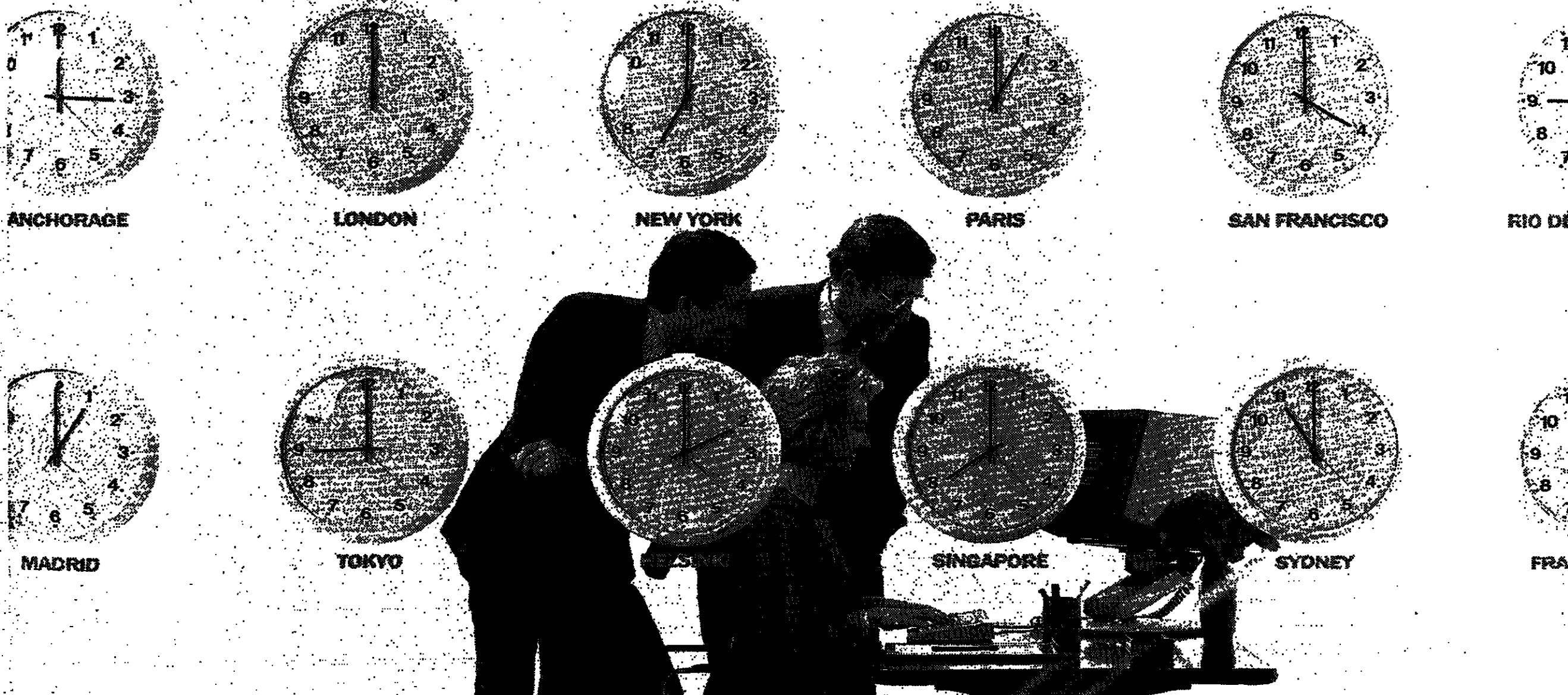


The New York Times

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JAPAN

A SPECIAL ECONOMIC REPORT

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20, 1985

Page 9

The Economy:  
Autonomous  
Expansion  
Under Way

By Richard C. Hanson

TOKYO — Japan's highly regarded economic bureaucrats can boast of having stage-managed one of the most successful economic "miracles" of the postwar era. Now, midway through the 1980s, the government's role in the economy has changed dramatically. Senior officials like to describe what is happening as "autonomous expansion."

What this means is that for a combination of reasons the government's ability (and in some cases, willingness) to influence the economy has diminished sharply. This partly results from a growing sense that the government's policies of tight regulation and intervention in industry and finance are no longer appropriate in a "mature" economy, let alone one that emerged over the past year as the industrial world's single largest source of investment capital.

From the outside, Japan may be widely perceived as dragging its feet on opening trade and financial markets to competition. From the inside, changes set in motion for the deregulation of financial markets appear revolutionary. Ironically, both the undoing of fiscal policy and the opening up of financial markets have the same parentage: namely, government steps to liberalize money markets in Japan mainly the result of pressure on the government to market its bonds, which were first issued in huge amounts beginning in the mid-1970s. Free-floating interest rates on manufacturing bonds means the breakdown of fixed interest rates.

The government's domestic budget-deficit was the result of a round of heavy debt-financed spending to stimulate the economy after the first oil crisis a decade ago. For the past few years, the government has slashed back on expenditures. Public-works spending is down. Servicing the government's debt alone edged up to 18.5 percent of the general-account budget.

"We've run into a wall as far as cutting expenditures is concerned," a Finance Ministry official said. "We need to innovate on the revenue side." Officials of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party are also feeling the heat from their voters. (Continued on Next Page)



Faces of Japan: A teen-ager and pictures of singers and film stars for sale at Tokyo's Harajuku Park. Page 10.

INSIDE

■ The younger generation shows a marked shift toward self-indulgence. Page 10.

■ The middle class: Do 90 percent of the Japanese belong? Page 13.

■ A new entrepreneurial spirit challenges the industrial pyramid. Page 12.

■ White-collar jobs are being created by office automation. Page 14.

■ The automobile has overtaken the train as a means of moving masses. Page 14.

■ Society is unaltered by the communications revolution. Page 15.

■ Women at work: Despite progress, discrimination remains. Page 16.

■ A rapidly aging population will overload social programs. Page 16.

Glittering Prosperity  
Masks the Quality Gap

By Jack Burton

TOKYO — The Japanese are now very much living the affluence of the industrialized world. In 40 years, they have become comfortably prosperous.

Signs of the country's newly acquired wealth abound. Tokyo's population is as well-dressed as that of New York or London, and department stores are stocked with such luxury goods as Louis Vuitton handbags, Hermes scarves and Yves Saint Laurent suits.

The city's shabby ferro-concrete buildings are being gradually replaced by gleaming international-style glass and steel towers. The Japanese now spend more per capita on overseas trips than any other nationality.

And those impressions of an improved standard of living are backed up by such accepted statistical indicators as television ownership (second within the OECD after the United States); infant mortality (the second lowest after Finland); life span (the world's longest); and high-school enrollment (surpassed only by the United States).

Acknowledged by the rest of the world as an economic superpower, with the third-highest gross national product, after the United States and the Soviet Union, Japan is also starting to display a more assertive profile abroad that reflects pride in its achievement.

But behind the impressive statistics, the Japanese standard of living, or perhaps more accurately its quality of life, still lags behind that of the United States and most of Europe.

On a private-consumption-per-capita basis, Japan hovers around 15th among the 24 countries in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.

The cost of basic necessities is high because most essential things, from food to raw materials, have to be imported. Food alone accounts for about a quarter of the average family budget.

A further constraint on improving the quality of life is the absence of space. A population of 120 million, half that of the United States, must be squeezed into a small area. The result is that housing is extremely cramped, with the Japanese paying 1.5 to 2 times more per square meter of living space than Europeans and Americans.

Although the Japanese over the last 40 years have moved out of homes built of timber and mortarboard into ones of concrete, housing standards remain relatively poor. Only 30 percent of Japanese homes are linked to main sewage systems and only half have flush toilets. Central heating is frequently lacking in Japanese houses, which are designed more to stay cool in summer than warm in winter.

With 75 percent of the Japanese living in cities, urban areas have a claustrophobic feeling. Only about 10 percent of Tokyo consists of open space, including parks and roads, compared with 25 percent in London.

With food and housing taking a sizable chunk of the household budget, the Japanese are also forced to save about 20 percent of their income for medical emergencies and retirement due to the inadequacy of the social welfare system. These savings, of course, have benefited the Japanese economy by providing a huge reservoir of capital available for investment, but it has limited the amount of discretionary income available to most Japanese.

Leisure, according to opinion polls, has become the most important concern in the last several years, a sign of an increasingly affluent society, but the Japanese are hampered in enjoying the fruits of their labor. They still work 150 to 350 more hours per year than Americans and some Europeans, and the five-and-a-half-day work week is prevalent, although slowly dying out.

There are, nonetheless, important economic compensations. Tax rates are low; the typical Japanese worker brings home 84.5 percent of his income after taxes.

Inflation is low, with wholesale prices having barely moved during the last three years and the consumer price index having risen by only 2.4 percent during 1984. Unemployment is also low — 2.7 percent in 1984, although the figure is somewhat misleading for two reasons. One, the Japanese use a broad definition of what constitutes work, and, secondly, there are many fewer women holding full-time career jobs in Japan than in the United States and Europe, which means that male workers seeking work can usually find it.

More importantly, the national income has been distributed fairly equally in the postwar period, quite a radical departure for a country that was known for its distinct class divisions.

Of the almost 34 million people working full time at private companies in 1982, 10.2 million made less than 2 million yen (about \$8,000) per year, 19.2 million made between 2 million and 5 million yen, and 4.5 million more than 5 million yen.

Most of those earning 2 million yen or less were women, who on average are paid 50 percent less than men. In 1982, women received an

(Continued on Page 11)

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## A SPECIAL REPORT ON JAPAN

# Autonomous Expansion: Economy Finds Own Level

(Continued From Page 9)

who have been starved of pork-barrel public works spending. However, although a general consumption tax has been discussed, the LDP is unlikely to agree soon to tax reforms on a scale that would raise enough revenue to ease the budget problem.

"There is agreement on broadening the tax base, but no consensus on concrete measures," the Finance Ministry official said. Politically, Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone is still committed to fiscal reform without major tax increases.

Economic management through manipulation of monetary policy has been virtually ruled out by the prolonged volatility in foreign exchange markets as a result of high U.S. interest rates. Fear of undermining an already weakened yen prevents the central bank from lowering interest rates at home.

Fiscal and monetary policies played a key role in the last period of economic recovery. In 1977 and 1978, public works spending rose by more than 20 percent annually, while the official discount rate dropped to the lowest level in postwar history, 3.5 percent. It has remained stuck at 5 percent this time.

"It's no joke that government is trying to find a new role in the economy," said Mikio Wakatsuki, Director of the Bank of Japan's research department.

Meanwhile, the economy's "autonomous expansion" has proved remarkably sound.

Having outscored most of the industrialized world in nearly all the toughest economic tests of the past two decades, the consensus is that Japan is settling into what promises to be a sustained period of growth of 4 percent to 5 percent a year. Sparked by a rapid surge of exports to a fast-growing American economy, Japan is in its third straight year of expansion.

The present recovery is now well within reach of becoming the third longest on record since the mid-1950s," said David Gerstenhaber, a Tokyo-based economist for Jardine Fleming, the stockbroker. Government economic planners are encouraged by signs that the economy has moved further away from a heavy dependence on export growth.

"Our growth is now fairly independent of external factors," Mr. Wakatsuki said. "The remarkable thing is that this is the third year of expansion without much inflation."

Nearly half of 1983's 3.9-percent real growth in the gross national product was due to rising exports (and sluggish imports). For the 1984 fiscal year, which ends March 31, domestic demand appears to have accounted for the lion's share. The 1984 economy is estimated to have grown about 5.5 percent, or slightly higher than the official estimate. The government expects that fully 90 percent of the 4.6-percent growth

forecast for fiscal 1985 will be the result of domestic demand.

Economic planners have been cheered by signs that capital spending by the nonmanufacturing (and hence nonexporting) sector of the economy (hotels, shops, finance and such) will pick up. For the past two years, private capital spending has served as a main engine for the economy, but mostly stimulated by industries exporting to the United States.

The current economic recovery, which began in the spring of 1983, is strikingly different in content from the one that began in 1977 and petered out early in 1980. The big change has been a dominance by electronics-related industries, while traditional basic industries faded in importance.

From the last quarter of 1977 to 1980's first quarter, 29 percent of the expansion in industrial output was in basic industries (steel, chemicals, automobiles) against 25 percent in the electronics industry. Since the first quarter of 1983, the basic industries' share of growth has fallen to 17 percent while electronics rose to 38 percent.

Economists are counting on sluggish private consumption to be boosted by more generous wage settlements in the annual round of labor negotiations this spring. The government is hoping that its frugal citizens will spend more, rather than save more.

But at the same time, the government would have even more to worry about if the average Japanese were not such a prodigious saver of money. Among other things, Japan's high savings rate has meant that its huge trade surplus (mainly with the United States) could be indirectly offset by an equally large outflow of investment capital to the United States. In 1984, Japan had a record current-account surplus of \$44.351 billion, but there was a record \$49-billion outflow recorded in the country's long-term capital.

Japan views its economic success with a combination of pride and caution. A recent government-sponsored study showed that over the past 100 years, Japan's per capita income has risen 21 times, its working hours have fallen by a third and housing space per person has increased by two-thirds. A newly appointed Japanese ambassador boasted recently at a press conference that Western countries simply cannot compete with the efficiency of Japanese industry.

Other officials are less sure that Japan's advantages are permanent or that the factors which help produce its wealth will endure. One senior official said of Japan's world role: "Japan is just a small island of stability in the world — but practically the only country where savings are being generated. We want to use our savings not only for ourselves but (as an investment) in the dynamism of the U.S. and world economy."

## Will Work Ethic Give Way to National Ethic?

By Gregory Clark

TOKYO — As war memories fade and the economy points ever upward, many observers have predicted the development of a more nationalistic Japan.

A major factor in the postwar economic miracle was the strong desire to rebuild Japan. So today, when the rebuilding is almost over, when Japanese products flood the globe and Japan is often held up as a model for others to follow, it is not surprising if pride and confidence gain ground.

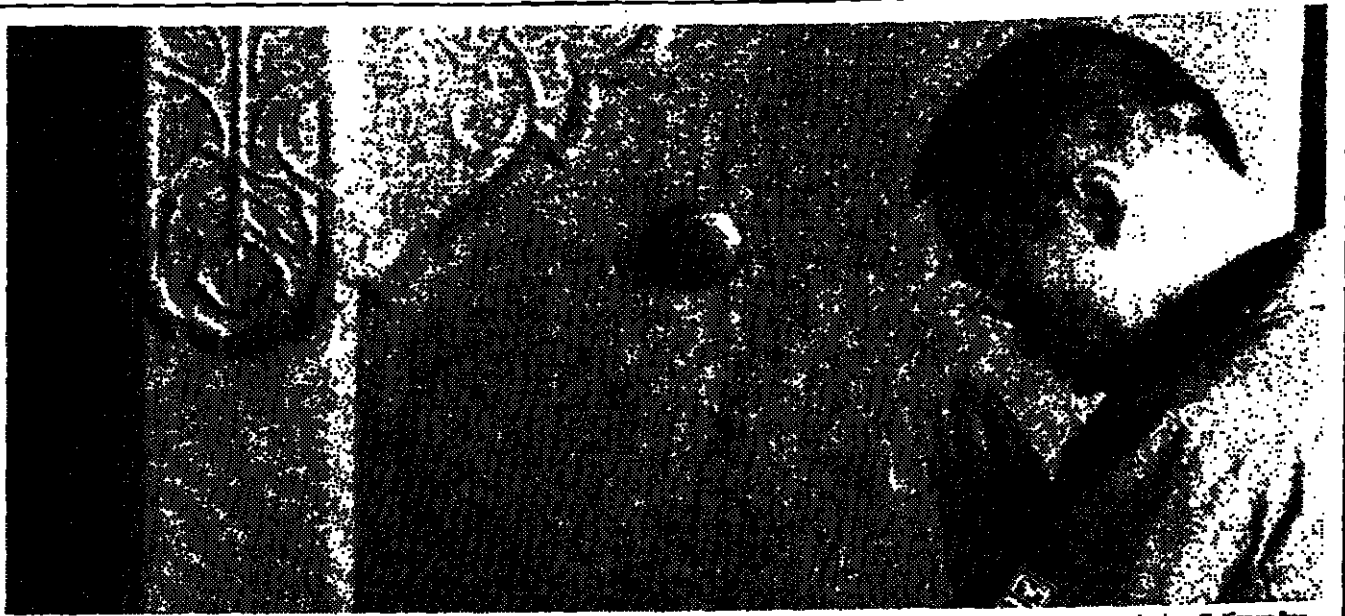
Also, this pride has led to renewed emphasis on Japan's traditional values. This year, for example, Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone made a point of being the first postwar leader to attend the traditional Feb. 11 ceremony celebrating the mythical founding of Japan 2,600 years ago.

In the past, the ritual served as the focus for militarist sentiment and for those favoring state Shintoism. Pacifist and leftist movements, together with religious groups opposed to any suggestion that Shintoism be revived as the state religion, have opposed any official endorsement of the founding ceremonies.

But Mr. Nakasone went anyway. He has also encouraged his cabinet to make token visits of worship to the major Shinto shrine in central Tokyo.

Underlying Mr. Nakasone's approach is the idea that the postwar era is over and Japan should make a clear break with the

Gregory Clark is professor of international business at Sophia University in Tokyo.



A businessman prays at the Meiji Shinto center.

policies and attitudes attached to that period.

One of the first breaks is in the area of military spending: he has challenged the promises made by former prime ministers to keep this spending down to within 1 percent of gross national product.

Although Mr. Nakasone can argue that an increase is needed anyway to maintain good relations with the United States, the main factor is the intense feeling in conservative circles, both political and business, favoring a stronger military posture.

No one suggests that Japan should return to its militarist ways or that, apart from sea-lane defense and perhaps some contribution to United Nations peacekeeping forces, Japanese troops should be sent abroad.

But the conservatives who rule Japan share a deep feeling that a stronger Japan would be a better Japan. "At the very least, we should be able to defend our own nation," they say.

The progressives who used to dominate the foreign-policy debate are less vocal and the noisy ultranationalist minority is noisier than ever. Its main foreign target is the Soviet Union, for refusing to return the Kurile islands, seized from Japan after the war. The ultras also seek a revision of the constitution toward reinstating the emperor to his prewar status.

Probably the only factor holding down this groundswell is Mr. Nakasone's weakening political situation within the Liberal Democratic Party and an instinctive dislike in the electorate for military-spending controversies. Under strong pressure from the opposition parties, Mr. Nakasone has reluctantly

agreed that he should try to keep close to the 1-percent GNP limit. But there is little doubt as to where his "true sentiments" lie, as the Japanese press puts it.

The education system introduced to Japan from the United States after the war is also under strong conservative challenge. Its faults are said to include an excessive emphasis on individual rights and freedoms, and little mention of obligations to state and society.

The conservative forces call for more patriotism and national pride. They say the younger generation needs more moral fiber. In the schools, they want respect for the flag and national anthem, and, in particular, they want to see a toning down of references in textbooks to Japan's past militaristic misdeeds. In 1982, some textbook revisions brought protests from China and South Korea, leading the Education Ministry to make some grudging retractions.

Paradoxically, in the day-to-day handling of international affairs, the growing nationalistic confidence has encouraged greater willingness to listen and cooperate. When Japan was still struggling for progress, its instinctive reaction to foreign pressure was simply to hunker down and try to ride out the storms imposed on it by outsiders.

Today, the slogan is for Japan to become more understanding of the outside world. Learning how to speak better English and to behave oneself on overseas tours is one aspect of this internationalism. Others include a relaxation of Japan's restrictive nationality laws, some small increases in the numbers of

Vietnamese refugees allowed to stay in the country and moves to increase the number of foreign students here.

In trade matters, the current slogans also call for more international attitudes. The negativism of earlier years is now seen as outdated and the overall mood is to give ground, unless there are unusually strong domestic reasons to do otherwise.

Thus, it is hard to argue that a more confident Japan is necessarily a more obstructionist and pushy Japan.

Perhaps the main area of push has been in the concept of a Pacific Basin Community. Spurred by Kiyoshi Kojima, an economist and strong Japan-firster, the idea used to call for a free trade area in which Japan inevitably would have had a dominant role. Today, that idea has been modified greatly and calls for mainly cultural and information exchanges.

In promoting the project, Japan is now bending over backward to avoid giving the impression that it seeks the dominant role. Even so, there is little doubt that the more nationalistic elements in Japan would like to see the concept in terms of an expanded Japanese presence in the Asian/Pacific area. Support for the concept is strongest in rightist and conservative circles.

Some have called openly for the concept to be converted into a political organization with fairly undisputed anti-Soviet aims. Indeed, Moscow has charged that the idea is a vehicle for Japanese military expansion.

The overall picture is of a Japan that is resurgent but still far from dangerous, even if some insist otherwise.

# Hard-Working Society Takes an Interest in Leisure

By Doune Porter

TOKYO — Over the past 20 years the Japanese have established an international reputation as workaholics. Although many Japanese take pride in this reputation for working, it is an image the leisure industry in Japan is at pains to dispel. The Japanese government, beset by international trade friction and beginning to find the reputation a little embarrassing, is also trying to promote leisure in Japan.

On average, the Japanese work between 150 and 350 hours a year more than their counterparts in Europe and America, leaving themselves with less time for leisure-oriented activities.

However, younger Japanese are less interested than their parents in devoting themselves to their workplace and more inclined toward relaxing and having fun. Gradually, the working week is being reduced from five and a half days to five. The banks are now closed on the second Saturday of each month and are planning to stop Saturday opening altogether in the near future.

Last year the Ministry of Labor proposed a further reduction of working hours by cutting down overtime and promoting a system of paid holidays.

In 1980 the average Japanese managed 4 hours and 17 minutes leisure time each weekday (including Saturdays), an increase of 19 minutes from 1970, and although many do not yet make full use of this time, the leisure industry has mushroomed.

From 1980 to 1982 the value of the leisure market in Japan grew by 9.3 percent to 39.3 trillion yen (\$1.81 billion), equivalent to 15 percent of the gross national product.

Because of their long working hours, the majority of Japanese spend their free time relaxing, usually in front of the television. There are almost 160 television sets for every 100 households, and the Japanese while away more time watching television than doing anything else, except working and sleeping. Television has taken over from the movies, with the number of cine-

mas falling from 7,437 in 1960 to 2,364 in 1980.

In Japan, which boasts a 99-percent literacy rate, at least one newspaper is delivered to almost every household, and magazines are becoming increasingly popular, especially among the young. Reading materials account for the second largest leisure expenditure: after travel, and the Japanese read for an average of about three quarters of an hour a day. As well as high circulation rates for newspapers and magazines (the Yomiuri Shimbun has a circulation of close to nine million — the largest in the world), Japanese bookstores flourish. In Tokyo, large-scale bookstores, some carrying up to a million books, have recently been opened, proving a major attraction for customers.

Other relaxing recreational activities include the popular board games of Go and Shogi. Go, a territorial boardgame, and Shogi, a parallel to chess, each have an estimated amateur following of 10 million. For both games, competitions and major tournaments sponsored by national newspapers are held throughout the year.

Pachinko, Japan's answer to pinball, provided a mindless diversion for workers during the period of rapid economic growth and is still played regularly by almost 30 million Japanese. Gaudy, noisy pachinko parlors cluster in every Japanese town, their clients sitting in rows watching steel balls descend through a maze of pins, and trying to guide them into winning holes. Although occasionally an unlucky player can lose a day's wages during a visit to the pachinko parlor, for most it is a relatively cheap form of amusement.

Avid photographers and sightseers, the Japanese prefer taking more active holidays to lazing around on beaches. In 1983, 4.23 million Japanese traveled abroad — a record number, with about 80 percent on sightseeing tours. For families, Hawaii and Guam are the favorite destinations, but single women are more attracted to Europe, other Asian countries and, during the recent kuala craze, Australia. Young bachelors, on the other hand, tend to prefer the United States, especially the West Coast.

Domestically, the Japanese, most of whom have moved into the

cities, often visit their hometowns for holidays. Increasing numbers of families travel to hot spring resorts, and older couples take leisure trips. The most popular winter trips among young people are ski tours in northern Japan.

Although the Japanese are becoming more inclined toward participation sports, spectator sports such as sumo and baseball are still extremely popular.

Sumo, traditional Japanese wrestling, draws annual crowds of around 750,000, and is covered extensively on television. Japan has two professional baseball leagues, and the season runs from April to October, with spectators totaling about 16 million in 1980.

There are nearly 60 million golfers in Japan. The sport is expensive, and is most popular among white-collar workers, who also use it as a means of entertaining business clients. Because of the limited land available, the Japanese have made the best use of what little space they have, with many buildings in the city sporting rooftop golf ranges. The Japanese like to participate not only in sports but also in music. They sing to the accompaniment of taped instrumental music in *kar-*

aoke (literally "empty orchestra") bars equipped with flattering sound systems and built-in echoes that give even the worst singer that professional touch. Home *karaoke* sets are also becoming popular; in 1982 an estimated 8 percent of Japanese households owned them, with 20 percent ownership forecast in the near future. *Karaoke* can even be found in such unlikely places as boats and taxis.



The crowds at Tokyo's Harajuku Park on Sunday: Teen-aged girls dancing to Western music, above; below, a group of young men in leather outfits and 1950s-inspired hairstyles.

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chaser based on the popularity of the manufacturer, trendy young Japanese covet exclusive items appreciated only by the select few.

"They dress from head to toe the way the fashion magazines tell them to, and yet they don't want to be big followers," Mr. Saito explained.

"After something catches on, they don't want it anymore."

Their reluctance to stick to one style seems to mirror a reluctance to commit themselves to a job.

According to a survey by the Nippon Recruit Center, only 48.3 percent of new job recruits said they planned to stay with their companies until retirement.

Another 12.8 percent acknowledged a desire to change jobs in the future, and 38.6 percent said they would stay with their companies depending on the circumstances — a notable shift in attitudes for a country where lifetime employment is a goal.

Only 13.3 percent of respondents said they considered their company

central to their lives, and 72 percent rated their home life more important than their job.

"In the past, if the company hit a crisis, the employee felt it was his duty to work even harder to bail the company out," said Masayuki Kakubo, chief of Nippon Recruit Center's research department.

"Recently, the attitude of workers has changed. Now, if the company faces a major crisis, workers will start looking around for another job."

Mr. Kakubo said the state of the economy was in part responsible for the changes in work attitudes. With no sign of another economic boom on the horizon, high social mobility is declining, he said, "so there's less motivation to work."

If the current trend continues, he said, Japan's workaholic may turn into a "languid" victim of what he called "advanced-country disease" — a sense of ennui or a "resources-poor nation whose great asset has been its dynamic work-

force."

Whereas their parents made pur-

put their work and studies behind them so they can return to their chief task — having fun.

Money sits high on their list of job criteria. "But even if it's a solid job and a career with a great future, if it's something that restricts their time and it's not an 'in' sort of job, they'd rather not take it," said Mariko Fujiwara, from the Hakuhodo Institute of Life and Living.

In the past, bright students aimed for jobs in trading companies and banks. But as a sign of the times, Suntory Ltd., an alcoholic-beverage manufacturer with a knack for projecting a slick, fashionable image, now snares the largest number of job applicants.

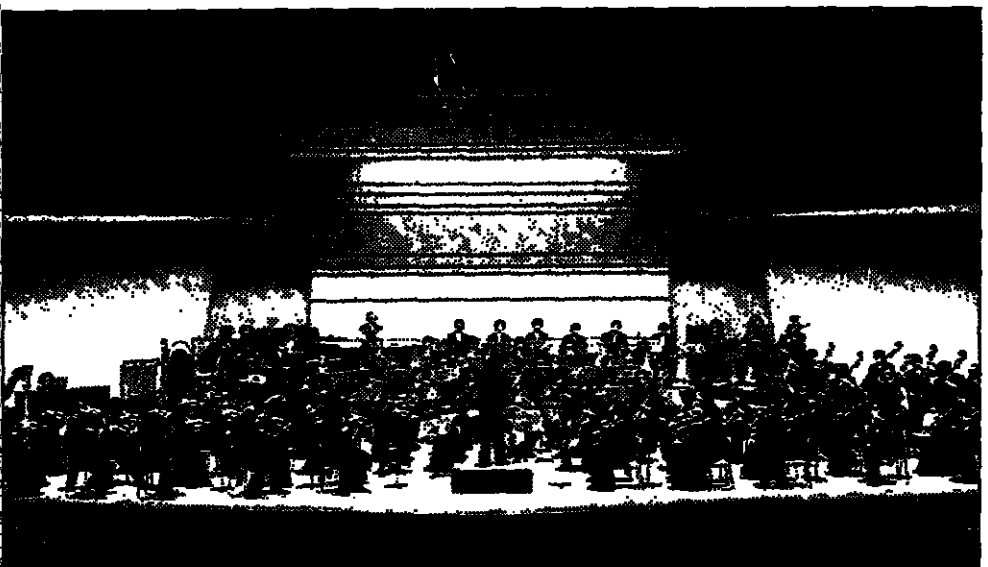
Young Japanese are basically passive, and instead of relying on diligence to carry them ahead, they look for clever shortcuts to success, Mariko Fujiwara said.

A number of popular how-to magazines cater to their needs, with tips on where to rub elbows with big-name company executives and how to butter up the boss or turn interpersonal office relations to a career advantage.

Yasuyoshi Fuse, senior research director with Hakuhodo's Institute of Life and Leisure, said young workers are quick to grab at opportunities, but once they have caught one, they do not quite know what to do with it.

"The chance itself is everything," he said. "But they don't follow through with it. They expect things to just work out."

Mr. Fuse cited a disturbing trend in the number of graduates who enter big companies or prestige



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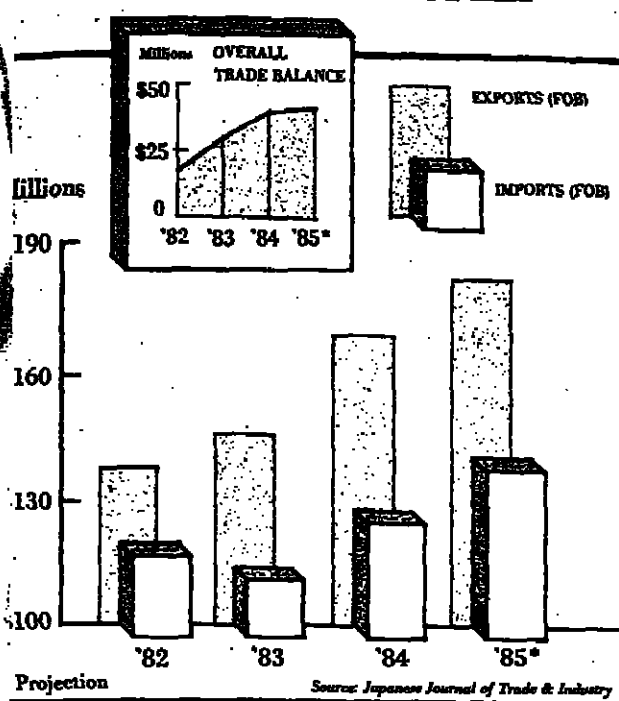
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THE TRADE PROFILE



Wider Demand Base  
s Creating New Needs  
And Diversified Tastes

By George Fields

TOKYO — The Japanese continue to increase their consumption of Western-style foods, but at the same time they continue to tune in on their own cuisine — one does not destroy the other. One of the key issues for the marketer is whether Japanese consumers are adding their homogeneous nature. The apparent fragmentation of the Japanese consumer is occurring because of the greatly expanded demand base, which in turn creates new needs and has nothing to do with the breakdown of the homogeneity of society. Admittedly within the very small sport segment — 2 percent of automobile registrations — BMW has been successful by recognizing the needs of a minority, as had Mercedes earlier. BMW, the new way, started to take off when a main group dynamism became evident.

The Japanese educational system is a powerful contributor to the expansion of the group. Despite the ongoing debate on educational reform, fundamental changes will come, given the enormous bureaucratic infrastructure. And with more and more students going to the universities (second only to the United States), there is increased affluence.

With this newly affluent youth, the closest to the global market, youthful consumers in many cultures lack individual confidence. And thus, as a group, create fads. The very fluidity of their tastes leads to the illusion of "individualization" of the Japanese market, but is still more a function of increase in the size of their base.

The new products that stay the distance are mostly those that are able to plug into a group dynamism some sort and, to be really suc-

cessful, they have to be transferable to another group, as the original group's character changes with newly acquired social responsibilities.

For impact in the marketplace, the rapidly changing position of women is the most important factor. Many of the features are recognizable in the West but the female consumer who evolves will still be uniquely Japanese in many respects for some time to come. More important to the marketer is the fact that they are moving from one set of consumer needs to another by virtue of greater affluence, independence, social recognition and free time. The results are evident in booming markets for certain sports-related goods, culture centers, fashion items, travel, family restaurants.

The growth in the dissemination and manipulation of information related to services has had its impact. The home-delivery firm of Footwork discovered that it could deliver a special type of melon from the northernmost island to any home in Japan before the product perished, a feat beyond the capabilities of the existing distribution system. The concept of "direct delivery from the source" was successfully launched, tapping latent consumer needs that were perfectly consistent with traditional values.

The diversification of the Japanese consumers' tastes is the net result of moving from a production-based to a marketing-oriented culture. Demand exceeded supply in the halcyon days of growth, turning the Japanese marketing establishment into solid supply-siders. There is now a scramble to provide a raison d'être for a product other than functional excellence and price.

George Fields is president of ASI Market Research (Japan) Inc.

A Glittering Prosperity  
Masks the Gap in Quality

(Continued From Page 9)

average salary of 1.92 million yen per year, compared with 3.86 million yen for men. But since women mostly work to supplement the family budget, there is no wide disparity in income on a household basis.

Rural areas have not been neglected at the expense of cities in receiving economic benefits. Due to the patronage nature of Japanese politics, dominated by rural-based politicians, the countryside has received a rich harvest of public-works projects, from bullet-train lines to extensive hospital facilities. Farmers are heavily subsidized by the government there are plans to spread the benefits of technology into the countryside by building a dozen or so "technopolis" regions that will house high-tech industries.

But Japanese perceptions of their living standards, have not changed much since the late 1950s although the population is better fed, better housed and better clothed than 25 years ago.

Despite Japan's rapid economic growth during most of this period, public-opinion polls have revealed that about 65 percent of Japanese believe that their standard of living has not improved at the same pace, although 90 percent of the population now considers itself part of the middle class, compared with 72 percent in the late 1950s.

Recently, the polls have noted a growing pessimism among a sizable minority of Japanese about their economic future. For example, 22.7 percent said last year that their

standard of living had deteriorated from the previous year and 38.6 percent replied that it was harder to make a living than before. Moreover, the number of those who consider themselves lower middle class (27.1 percent) rather than middle middle class (54.6 percent) has increased slightly by 4 to 5 percent since the mid-1970s. There is a

growing nostalgia within Japan for the 1950s, when economic prospects seemed unlimited and the goal of rebuilding the country. That has given rise to talk that the country's middle-class consciousness is slowly breaking down, caused by widening income gaps. One example of growing wage differences is that between those working in large firms with 500 or more employees and those working in small enterprises with fewer than 30 employees. While in 1972 workers in small companies were earning 62.8 percent of the wages received by large-corporation employees, the ratio had dropped to 56.6 percent by 1983. The disparity is even greater when it is considered that large companies offer more generous benefits, from housing assistance to retirement allowances, than smaller ones.

The debt situation is not as serious as that faced by the U. S. and some European countries due to the high savings rate.

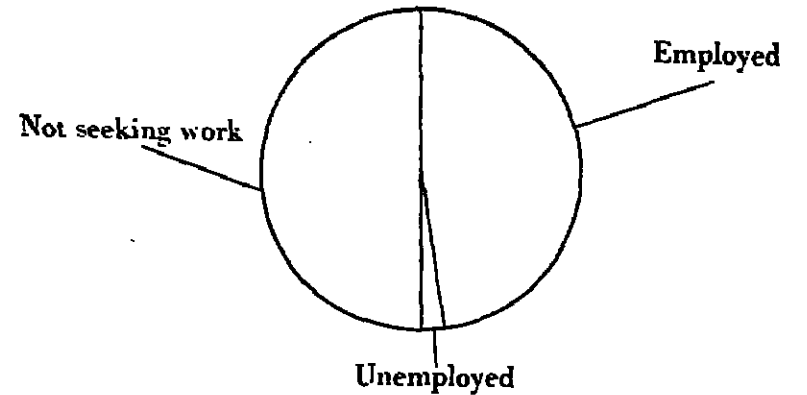
dominums and \$12,000 jewelry for pets.

With a gross national product growth rate of 6.5 percent during the first half of fiscal 1984 (the highest among the major non-Communist industrialized powers) and with industrial production climbing to 9.2 percent at the end of last year, Japan's economic health is not in doubt.

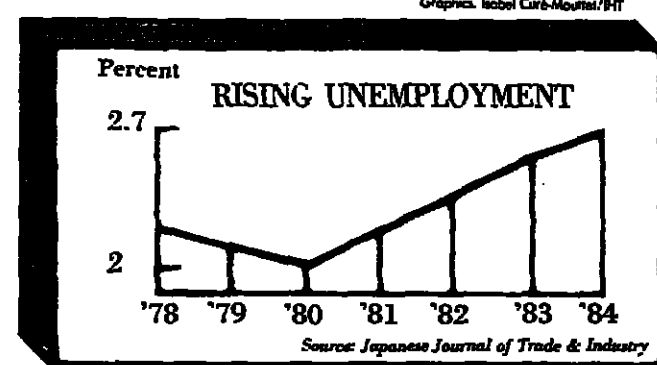
However, some segments of Japanese society could face a bleaker future, particularly the aged. Within the next 15 years, one out of every five Japanese will be 60 years or older. With national pensions inadequate, most workers who retire from their career jobs are forced to take another job to make ends meet. But the number of positions available for elderly workers is rapidly filling up and the government may have to shoulder a great-

A NATION AT WORK

Of Japan's 120 million people, almost half — 56 million — have jobs, while 1.52 million continue to seek work.



Source: Management and Coordination Agency, January 1985



Source: Japanese Journal of Trade & Industry

er share of supporting the aged in the future.

That comes at a time when the government is trying to contain huge budget deficits, amounting to a total of about 120 trillion yen, the

result of pump-priming measures that started in the mid-1970s to counter the effects of the oil-price rise.

To finance its fiscal 1985 budget of 52.5 trillion yen, the Japanese

government will have to borrow around 20 percent of that amount and 20 percent of the budget will go for debt service on past borrowings. Social spending has already been frozen for three years and the government is now considering an increase in taxes.

The government's debt situation is not as serious as that faced by the United States and some European countries due to Japan's high savings rate, which is likely to remain high so long as Japan does not provide comprehensive welfare benefits, thus providing an incentive for continued savings.

But the aged may have to pay for that state of affairs, especially when they will have to depend on a smaller working population, which may be less committed to the work ethic than previous generations.



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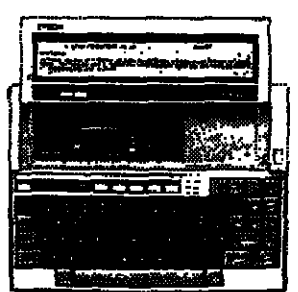
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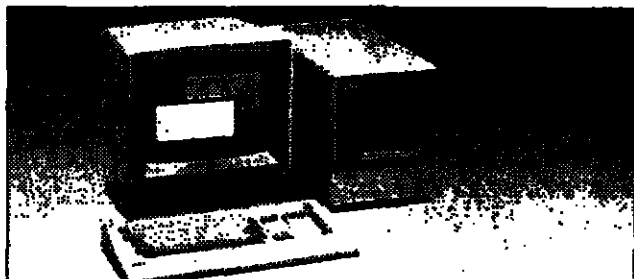
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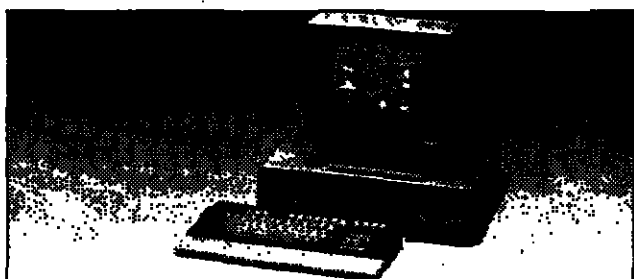
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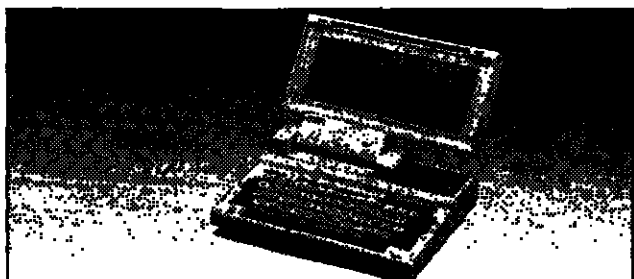
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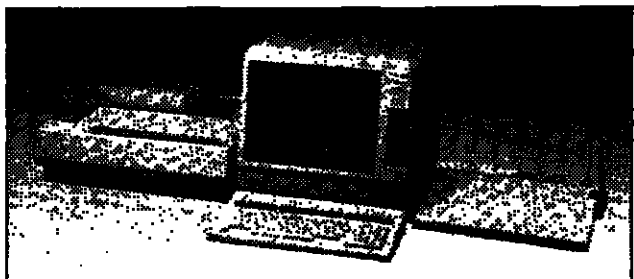
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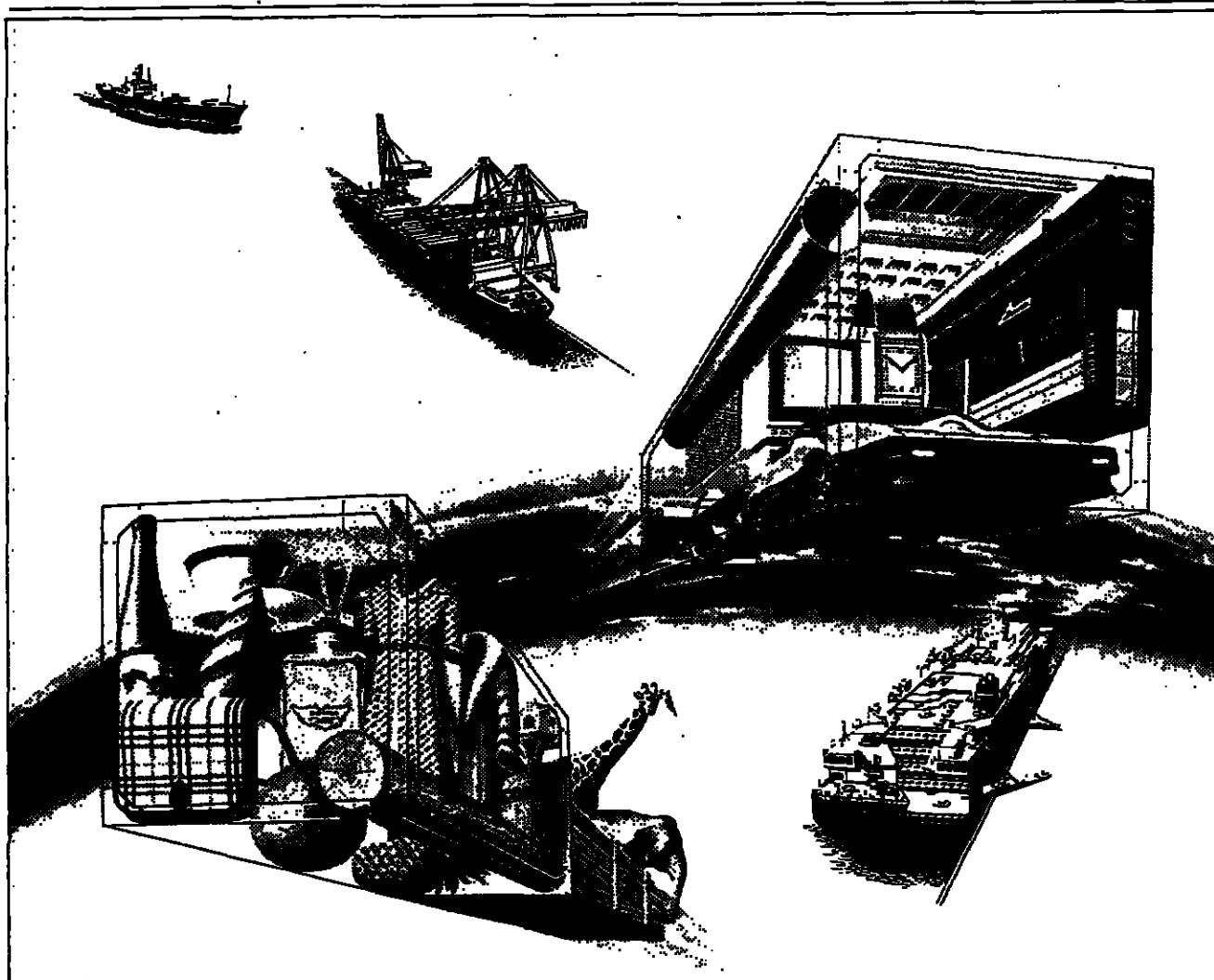
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## A SPECIAL REPORT ON JAPAN

### Secondary Suppliers Keep Engine Running In Good Times and Bad

By Darryl Gibson

**TOKYO** — The names of Japan's industrial giants, Matsushita, Hitachi, Nippon Kōkan, Honda, Toyota and others, have become synonymous with industrial power of this decade, but this success does not spring from technological and managerial advances alone.

In the rigidly hierarchical structure of Japanese manufacturing, the famous rest comfortably atop a pyramid of secondary and tertiary suppliers, which not only keep the economic engine firing smoothly in good times, but also act as buffers to soften the blow of economic downturns for their main patrons.

For despite the fame and size of the giants, Japan's economy rests mostly on small and medium-size businesses that supply the parts and labor for the companies at the top.

In 1981, the last year for which complete figures are available, there were 713,000 Japanese manufacturers, employing 10.6 million people. Compared with the United States, where 312,000 corporations employed 21.9 million, the predominance of small and medium firms in Japan is clear.

On average, Japanese manufacturing firms employ only 15 people, while in the United States the comparable figure is 60. And when companies employing fewer than 10 people are included, fully 58 percent of Japan's labor force worked for small companies compared with 25 percent in the United States.

At firms in Japan with fewer than 300 workers, 65.5 percent were subcontractors. What this means for the Japanese employee's

Philippines, where low-paid workers fill Japanese orders.

But even at home the company must save.

Each spring, throngs of female high school graduates are recruited to fill the ranks on hand assembly lines. Few last more than a few years, so the predominantly female labor force is at the low end of the wage structure and the male managers, most of whom can expect lifetime employment, spend much of their time training new workers.

At the next level down, the company's own suppliers often work at home or at other small premises to manufacture plastic fittings or similar small articles on a piecework basis.

In boom times, the company's assembly lines are full and the tertiary suppliers work hard to meet demand for the assembler. But when the economy slows, the secondary work force is trimmed by quick attrition and no hiring of new graduates, while workers on the tertiary level either must look for new jobs or return to their rice fields.

At the top, belts are tightened, but layoffs are rare. The lower-ranked firms squeeze their work force and, in turn, squeeze those below them.

On the positive side, however, the close relationship means that technology is often shared with affiliates and independent suppliers more quickly than might happen otherwise and efficiency is increased markedly.

With so many firms dependent on the corporation at the top, adaptation to change is faster than in systems where suppliers are at arm's length from their customers.

In the rigidly hierarchical structure of Japanese manufacturing, the famous rest comfortably atop a pyramid of secondary and tertiary suppliers, which ... soften the blow of economic downturns.

position within the hierarchy is all important.

At the industrial giant, employees can expect relatively high wages, substantial company benefits, often including housing or help in purchasing a home, and a virtual guarantee of lifetime employment.

At the secondary level, the salaries and benefits slip considerably. For those relegated to the third level, the wages, benefits and guarantee of a job are all subject to the whim of the employer.

Within the auto industry for example, a recent study showed that an unnamed giant had direct relations with 168 primary suppliers, 5,437 secondary subcontractors and 41,703 tertiary subcontractors, all producing parts and services.

The pressure to supply with economy and reliability increases with each step down the pyramid. At the secondary level, where the companies are large and often directly affiliated with the giants, the demands are already great.

A manufacturer outside Tokyo, for example, supplies cables and wires to most of the majors, but in each case delivery must be made in a truck built by the buyer. A load of finished parts for Toyota requires a Toyota delivery truck, just as a load for Nissan requires a Nissan.

The expense in simply meeting the logistical demands of delivery puts extraordinary pressure on the company. To cope, the firm has gone offshore, mostly to cheap-labor countries like Thailand and the

While there is mounting union pressure for greater integration of the manufacturing economy, the picture is unlikely to alter soon. Unions are generally one-company affairs and have little say beyond day-to-day operations and annual wage negotiations with their own firms.

The one factor that may precipitate a change in the "pyramid" is technology. For despite the overall welcoming of innovation and the rapid sharing of new manufacturing discoveries, the fragmentation of the industrial structure makes sweeping technological change hard to implement.

At tiny subcontracting firms where only the boss and a handful of workers turn out a single component, the capital to institute robotics, computers or simply new mechanical devices is lacking. The top manufacturers, when trying to automate beyond simple assembly operations, increasingly are finding that the lower echelon is where the change is needed.

The growing recognition of the need for systemic, rather than simple corporate, change may lead to greater capital tieups and more benefits at the subcontracting level in the long run, but the job of coordinating operations at thousands of firms is clearly going to be long and complicated.

In such an event, the social impact in Japan is likely to be as great as the technological.



Office workers in Tokyo's business district.

### Venture Boom Spawns An Innovative Breed Of Young Entrepreneurs

Special to the IHT

**TOKYO** — It is fashionable to talk of a new "venture boom" in Japan. American-style venture capital, it is often said, is creating a new class of Japanese entrepreneurs.

After 1945 new entrepreneurs launched firms like Sony and Honda in a marked departure from the old prewar dominance by big industrial groups called *zaibatsu*. But since then, big firms have dominated Japan's economy. In contrast to American experience, most technological innovation in Japan has come from big companies. If venture capital could now alter this, it would be a profound social and economic change.

However, talk of a rebirth of entrepreneurship in Japan is, to paraphrase Mark Twain, much exaggerated. There has been a big improvement in the availability of venture capital — loosely defined as funds invested as shareholdings in risky, start-up companies — in Japan. But it is from a very small base. And even more scarce than the cash are the budding entrepreneurs waiting to use it.

A recent survey by the Ministry of International Trade and Industry found that at the end of 1984 the amount of venture capital investment outstanding in Japan was 85 billion yen (\$325 million), about 125 percent higher than a year earlier. There are now more than 50 firms set up to provide venture capital, many of them affiliates of security companies, banks and trading houses.

But, although the rate of growth is impressive, the funds remain tiny compared to those in America. Definitional problems make comparison difficult, but one estimate says that the sums invested in Japan total well under 10 percent of those in the United States.

In the early 1970s, venture capital hardly existed in Japan. Sord Computer, a personal computer firm set up in 1971 by an entrepreneur in his 20s, Takayoshi Shima, found it very hard to raise money.

"No banks would lend to us," Mr. Shima said. In February Sord's meteoric growth fell back to earth when, after a disastrous year, it was taken over by Toshiba, one of Japan's biggest electronics firms.

Now there is money, venture capital firms still do not find it easy to invest. About a third of all funds available remains uninvested.

According to the newsletter Japan Financial Report, the biggest and oldest venture capital firm, Japan Associated Finance Co., known as Jafco, an affiliate of the country's biggest securities firm, Nomura, has made big loans to consumer finance companies called *sarakuin*, or loan sharks.

Hardly venture businesses, they do offer high interest returns. Similarly, Nikko Venture Capital, another brokerage affiliate, has reportedly invested half its capital in a property subsidiary of the giant Matsushita electronics group.

So where are all the entrepreneurs? The Trade Ministry reports that around 2,000 firms have received venture capital in recent years. The biggest share has gone, predictably, to electronics firms followed by telecommunication, financial firms and computer software.

Japan's biggest financial newspaper, the Nihon Keizai Shimbun, recently took an opinion poll of new entrepreneurs in order to try to find out where they were coming from. Of 1,697 people polled on 541 answered the questionnaire. Nevertheless, the responses were revealing.

About 80 percent of the company presidents that responded had previously been employed at big Japanese companies, but mostly in lowly positions. They have left security, research and development or design departments of big firms. Respondents reported that only a third of the employees of their company have previous working experience. Two-thirds are new graduates school leavers.

Most important of all, the Nihon Keizai survey stressed that many of the so-called "venture businesses" were actually firms spun off by big companies. Electronics firms such as Toshiba, Fujitsu and NEC are fond of spinning off divisions to form new software and computer graphics firms, especially. The spin-offs then operate in a more independent, entrepreneurial way than the parent but have the parent's backing.

### Industry Associations Protect Old, Nurture New

By Susan Moffat

**TOKYO** — Trade associations in Japan act as both nurturing mother hens and as fiercely protective mother bears.

In the 1950s and 1960s the associations, known as *kyokai*, midwifed Japan's emergence as a world leader in heavy industry. Now they are trying to discipline the fiercely competitive high-technology industries into joint research and development projects and standardization efforts.

But as Japan's enterprises mature along with its economy, some major corporations, including those in newer industries, seem ready to come out from under the tutelage of trade associations — and their headquarters in government bureaucracies such as the Ministry of International Trade and Industry.

But the heads of the top five steel companies still meet each week in the Gensyokai (Monday Club) along with ministry officials to forecast demand and discuss production levels. They get together at the headquarters of Keidanren, the federation of economic organizations, the mentor of Japan's 23,573 trade associations and one of the greatest concentrations of power in Japan.

On the other hand, the president of the computer industry association recently complained to the U.S. trade representative, William E. Brock, that the Japanese computer industry was suffering from excessive competition because the association could not control the unruly members of its robust sector.

Associations of growing high-tech industries are not generally

able, nor even desirous, of carrying out protectionist aims through cartels, as do associations in declining industries such as textiles, steel, petrochemicals and paper.

What they will do is monopolize standards and certification procedures, an action that often effectively blocks foreign products, U.S. trade negotiators say.

The United States Trade Policy Commission has proposed inspections institute for telecommunications products, whose directors consist of major Japanese manufacturers, a particularly glaring example of the power of government-sanctioned industry groups over international trade.

However, the main telecommunications association has more than 200 members, the electronic associations over 600 members, and observers say they are far less unified than associations of old-line industries. But associations of industries both booming and foundering share common patterns of patriarchal influence over their trade.

The small businessman has little say as to the direction the industry will take, but he can rest assured that the big companies will stick to the principle of protecting the weak for the good of all; industry leaders may be all-powerful, but they are not ruthless.

The view that a balance of competition and cooperation among enterprises is essential to the health of an industry is a tenet shared by most trade associations and the Ministry of International Trade and Industry.

The associations of MITI work out common goals through a complex network of personal connections based on old-school and former-job ties that make the process

of industry-government cooperation invisible to the consumer and difficult to prosecute for the Fair Trade Commission.

Often, as in the Monday Club of the Steel Association, the presence of MITI officials legitimizes what many would call cartel-like behavior under the guise of "administrative guidance," the moral persuasion regularly dispensed by MITI that is practically, though not legally, binding.

"Administrative guidance" is the bogeyman of the Fair Trade Commission. "Cartels," its official position reads, "are more likely to be brought about through administrative guidance toward trade associations."

Individual monopolizers are rare in Japan. As in everything else, it is a matter of group rule. Of the 765 cases decided by the FTC since the establishment of the Anti-Monopoly Act in 1949, the majority involved trade associations.

And the most celebrated violation of the act by a trade association pointed out even industry fingers at administrative guidance.

After the first oil shock, in 1974, the Petroleum Association and 17 oil company officials were criminally charged with price fixing. The defense they pleaded blamed administrative guidance for leading them astray from paths of free trade.

The Tokyo High Court did not accept the argument, or at least it did not dare prosecute MITI officials. It was the industry association that got hurt. But a leading newspaper printed the names of 50 former MITI officials, including five former deputy ministers, who had retired into executive positions within the oil industry.

The case was finally concluded in 1984, when the executives were fined and received suspended sentences.

But in the intervening 10 years the Fair Trade Commission slipped back into its earlier timidity. Recessions had helped strengthen the cartelizing nature of the associations and the number of trade association-related decisions by the commission declined from 33 in 1973 to two in 1983.

In fact, last December, when small gasoline retailers tried to sue the MITI-Petroleum Association system by importing cheap gasoline against administrative guidance, it was thwarted when banks suddenly pulled out of credit. But the commission did come to the consumers' rescue in 1974.

Even under present favorable economic conditions, there are legal cartels in Japan that are exempted from the Anti-Monopoly Act, some for reasons of structural adjustment (that is, reduction of overcapacity), others to aid realization (for example, product specialization by enterprise).

The number of exempted cases is decreasing, commission officials say. But observers agree that it is many cartels in Japan operating without the benefit of legal sanction.

It is hard to track down specific acts of restriction of competition government complicity in cases, but it is easy to trace. Cartels of MITI and other bureaucrats who after forced retirement as early as age 50 easily powerful and lucrative men.

(Continued on Page 15)

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A SPECIAL REPORT ON JAPAN

# Middle Class Discovers the High Life

By Mariko Fujiwara

**TOKYO** — A survey last year conducted by the Prime Minister's Office shows that more than 90 percent of the Japanese view themselves as middle class. The further stabilization of consumer prices and continued increase in income, although small in both nominal and real terms, have helped the Japanese feel relatively secure in their middle-class standard of living in a time of slow economic growth.

Consumer prices rose only 1.4 percent in fiscal 1982 and 1.9 percent in fiscal 1983, marking a record low for two consecutive years out of the last 25. The average monthly income of the wage-earning household in 1983-1984 was 409,000 yen (\$1,573), a 1.5-percent increase in real terms from the year before.

Today, Japanese homes are probably better equipped with home appliances than most American and European homes. The Japanese are content to know that their standard of living has reached that of Western industrialized nations, except perhaps in the sizes of their homes.

There is a growing tendency among the Japanese in recent years to seek greater personal fulfillment beyond material wealth. Since 1978, surveys show that those who seek this have outnumbered those who wish to improve their life in terms of possessions. In a 1983 survey, 46 percent viewed personal fulfillment as the most important thing in their lives while only 37 percent wanted greater material wealth.

Four basic changes in the consumption patterns of Japanese families reflect this shift in the value system: an increase in expenditure on services, a trend toward quality buying of durable goods and services, a rise in spending on leisure and education, and an increase in the use of consumer credit.

In 1982, 43.4 percent of household expenditure was for services, 56.6 percent for goods. The ratio of service expenditure rose almost 11 percent since 1965, 1.5 percent since 1980.

The ratio for selective expenditure has been higher in service consumption than in goods consumption. For goods, 76.4 percent is indispensable expenditure and 23.6 percent is selective, while for services, 54.3 percent is indispensable and 45.7 percent selective. Demand for services is expected to increase steadily with the growth of income.

Japanese families today spend more on both selective services such as laundry and dry cleaning, remodeling of homes and automobile maintenance, dining out, and disposable services such as lighting and fuel, transportation and communications.

With the shift toward greater personal fulfillment in the value system, the quality orientation evident in consumption of goods and services. A survey of family income and expenditure showed that there has been a trend toward higher quality durable goods purchased at higher cost. The 1983 report by the Hakuhodo Institute of Life and Living also indicated that such quality goods as multiplex television, central air conditioning, solar water heating systems and custom-made clothes rank very high in the items the Japanese want to purchase in the near future.

In services, the stronger quality orientation is evident in references for more tailored

made services and personal services given in the home.

The increase in leisure time also means greater possibilities in improving the quality of life in general. Workers work fewer hours and take longer holidays. Housewives, with more home appliances and more convenience goods and services offered to them, spend less time doing housework. Mothers with fewer children spend fewer hours caring for them.

The average number of work hours per month decreased to 174.6 in 1982, 14 hours less than in 1970. The average annual increase rate of sport-related expenditure in 1975-1982 was 8.7 percent, significantly higher than the 1.2-percent increase for the entire consumption expenditure.

The greater emphasis on leisure as shown in the Hakuhodo survey on Japanese young adults, indicates that the consumption connected with leisure will continue to grow. The new generation of Japanese is committed to work and leisure almost equally.

Education and education-related expenditure has also shown rapid growth in recent years. It grew 5.2 percent and 4.2 percent in 1982 and 1983, respectively, considerably higher than the growth in total household expenditure.

In the hope of giving them a well-rounded education, many parents give their young children such lessons as piano, swimming and abacus. As the children grow older, parents spend a lot to send them to

cramming schools. The majority of pupils in junior high school have special tutoring sessions two to three days a week, which costs an average of 13,800 yen a month, according to a 1984 Sanwa Bank survey. Today, the costs of extracurricular class and tutoring make up 11 percent of the entire expenditure on education.

With the new leisure-oriented generation of Japanese growing older and joining the mainstream of society, the use of credit is becoming more popular. In 1982, 57 billion credit cards were issued; the number doubled in three years.

Mariko Fujiwara is director of English publications and overseas research at the Hakuhodo Institute of Life and Living.

## WHERE THE PAYCHECK GOES

Average Monthly Earnings (in yen)		% of income
405,517	Gross income	
344,113	Net income	84.8
Partial breakdown of disposable income		% of net income
272,199	Living Expenditure	79.1
72,099	Food	20.9
28,703	Housing, fuel and light	8.3
18,910	Clothing and footwear	5.5
6,436	Medical care	1.9
10,414	Education	3.0
23,462	Reading and recreation	6.8
71,914	Propensity to save	20.9

Note: For salaried worker households, 1983. Average number of people per household: 3.79.

Source: Japan Institute for Social and Economic Affairs

## Defining the Upper-Class Strata: No Single Group Pulls the Strings

By Barbara Casassus

**TOKYO** — Only a handful of Japanese consider themselves upper class, not that the term has anything to do with the clearly defined, conflict-ridden stratification familiar to the West European.

No single elite group pulls the strings in Japan. It is full of what sociologists call "status inconsistencies," where position in one sphere has no automatic ripple effect. And since World War II, there has been a considerable difference in upward mobility between generations.

Professor Seisaburo Sato of Tokyo University, the breeding ground of top civil servants and industrialists, places the Japanese elite in four categories: leaders of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, ranking bureaucrats, top corporate managers and the less influential intellectuals, who are mainly scholars in top universities.

Academics are divided over many aspects of who takes precedence over whom in the nation's life. But they concur in the view that since the economic boom of the 1960s, politicians and industry have strengthened their grip at the expense of the bureaucracy, once heralded as the driving force behind Japan Inc. Nonetheless, civil servants' power is considerable — on a par with their counterparts in France — and their prestige remains high.

According to Professor Shioichi Watanabe of Sophia University, the Liberal Democratic Party has been in power so long that veteran parliamentarians know the laws of the land better than some civil servants, and industry can operate more freely now that certain government controls have been lifted. "At retirement, senior civil servants are starting to have difficulty in securing second jobs in the private sector," he says.

The pecking order within industry has become blurred. Traditional smokestack manufacturers are losing status as the industrial structure shifts to high technology and services. But this phenomenon "has yet to be reflected in the leadership of the influential business organizations, such as the Keidanren [the federation of economic organizations]," Professor Yasuaki Murakami of Tokyo University said.

Sociologists disagree over whether such postwar conglomerates as Matsushita, Sony and Honda belong to the establishment. Some still regard

them as entrepreneurs, along with such companies as Seibu, Kyocera and Daiel, while others point to the eminence of personalities like the Sony chairman, Akio Morita, whose influence extends beyond the boundaries of the business in which he is directly engaged.

Another issue where consensus is lacking is whether class distinctions are hardening and a *nouveau riche* emerging. Statistics show that wage and personal-asset gaps are widening. Many owners of small and medium-sized enterprises are significantly wealthier than major corporations' salaried presidents, who have risen through the ranks. These owners are spending their disposable incomes with increasing flamboyance — on lavish marriages for their daughters, expensive clothes for their wives and jewelry for their dogs.

Inheritance tax is draconian, but smaller companies can circumvent the problem by nominating family members as directors and managers.

Money alone does not transform a Japanese into a perceived member of the elite. Former Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka is an example. He has wealth and, despite indictment in the Lockheed bribery case, retains political power. But he does not have the "right" educational background.

The "examination hell" illustrates the importance of academic credentials. The principle of equal opportunity for all, which allowed the offspring of the poor to reach Tokyo University, no longer applies. The costs of education, including preparation for exams, permit only the better off to finance their children through the fierce competition.

Perhaps surprisingly, the institution's supremacy among bureaucrats and corporate executives does not extend to the present generation of political leaders. No more than a substantial minority of the heads of the five factions of the Liberal Democratic Party and their heirs apparent are alumni of Tokyo University.

Politics is one area where the *de facto* hereditary rights can prevail. Constituencies are handed down from father to son, although power within the party is not guaranteed to follow.

With the postwar land reforms, the breakup of the *zaibatsu* corporate empires and abolition of the 19th-century peerage, many wealthy families lost a great deal of their assets and influence. Some have faded into the haze of the middle class and it is

(Continued on Next Page)



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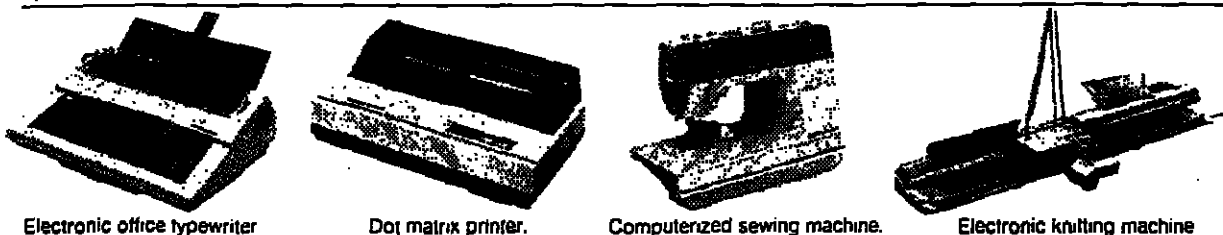
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## Lift to a Service Society Is Hurting the Unions

**KYO** — As Japanese unions near their 30th annual *shunto*, or spring struggle, negotiations, they are also trying to reverse, or at least halt, a decline in their influence.

In the early years of the postwar, labor unions were one of the most powerful organized forces in Japan, with 56 percent of workers unionized in 1949. Last year, statistics of unionized workers to a record postwar low of 47 percent, the ninth consecutive year of decline.

growth of the labor market has slowed the growth of union membership. While the number of workers in Japan in 1970 was 32.7 million in 1970, the number in 1984, the number of workers only rose from 32.7 million to 33.2 million during the period, with the unions losing 56,000 members last

year. The decline in union membership is due to a number of factors. One is the increasing unwillingness of Japanese to work in factories means that the industrial labor force will continue to shrink. The union federations, such as the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (Sohyo), are trying to meet this shift in the labor market by turning their attention from large manufacturing companies, where most union workers are, to smaller, more labor-intensive enterprises. But the unique structure of the union system in Japan hinders such a strategy.

Japanese unions, unlike those in the West, are organized around companies, not crafts, and the stress is on company loyalty rather than kinship with fellow workers outside the firm, although the company unions belong to union groups covering specific industries and the much larger national union federations such as SOHYO.

With unionized workers sharing in a company's increased prosperity through higher bonuses and better fringe benefits, they are likely to oppose any action that would cut into the company's profits, including the unionization of small and medium companies, which are primarily used to do subcontracting work for major corporations.

Company unions at many big corporations like to encourage this view since it is not in their interest to make subcontracting more expensive. The use of the marginal labor for subcontracting also gives the major corporations the flexibility to maintain the lifetime employ-

ment system, which applies to about the top third of all Japanese firms. They have no need to hire extra workers during a boom period and then lay them off during a recession.

Workers at the smaller companies also realize there is a disadvantage in starting up a union since higher union wages would force the bigger companies to look for an other subcontractor or else do the work themselves. While the unionized share of the labor market is eroding, the source of the unions' political strength, the public-sector companies, is also under attack. Unions in state-run enterprises are more militant than company unions and are major supporters of the opposition Japan Socialist Party.

Union relations are worse in the public sector because workers and the conservative Liberal Democratic Party government are usually on the opposite sides of the political fence and the government does not extend the same kind of paternalistic treatment offered by private management to company unions. Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone is trying to defuse the power of the public-sector unions by denationalizing Nippon Telegraph and Telephone and the Japan Salt and Tobacco Monopoly on April 1. His next target for denationalization is the Japan National Railroads.

The threat of denationalization has already curbed somewhat the militancy of railroad workers, who



## A SPECIAL REPORT ON JAPAN

# Trains Take Back Seat to Cars As a Means of Moving People

By Marc Beauchamp

TOKYO — In Japan, a nation that boasts one of the world's best mass-transit networks, the automobile has managed over the past 25 years to dethrone the train as the No. 1 way to move people.

In 1960, according to the Ministry of Transport, cars carried just 4.7 percent of passengers (on a passenger-kilometer basis). Today, they carry 43 percent, a ninefold increase. Meanwhile, the share carried by trains dropped from 75 percent to less than 40 percent.

This turnaround has occurred despite the disadvantages of owning a car in Japan — steep taxes, road tolls, \$2-a-gallon gasoline, traffic jams, parking shortages — and despite Japan's clean, efficient and safe trains, subways and buses.

Indeed, Japan is a country that is well suited for mass transit. Of its 119 million people, 75 percent live in cities served by extensive, if crowded, public transportation.

With so many reasons not to own

a car, why are the Japanese forsaking the railroad for the highway? The major reasons are byproducts of Japan's prosperity. Rising living standards have simply made cars more affordable. In the 1960s, when Japan's gross national product was growing at double-digit rates, car ownership climbed an average of 35 percent a year.

Status is another factor. Today, many people buy cars not so much out of need as to keep up with their neighbors. Japanese car commercials are slick and sexy, often shot in the American Southwest or other wide-open spaces. Never mind that for most motorists in Japan the reality is traffic jams and dangerously narrow streets.

There are more than 43 million automobiles on the roads of Japan today, up from only 1.4 million in 1960. This is good news for the auto industry, of course.

In just 25 years, Japan's auto industry went from building 500,000 vehicles a year to more than 11 million, about half destined

for the domestic market. In a land famous for big business, autos are today one of the biggest. The industry accounts, directly or indirectly, for 10 percent of total employment, 10 percent of total manufacturing output and 15 percent of industrial research-and-development spending.

Meanwhile, public transport has fallen behind the demand caused by population growth and the migration of millions of Japanese from the countryside into major industrial centers.

The growth in the use of autos, trucks and airlines in the postwar era has been especially bad news for the Japanese National Railroads, the government-run organization that owns 80 percent of the country's rail network.

The JNR, saddled with money-losing rural lines, high construction costs of its three high-speed "bullet" train lines and a bloated payroll, is forecast to lose \$6.8 billion in the year ending March 31. In the red every year since 1964, when it



From left: Automobiles jam the Ginza, the high-speed bullet train, and a packed Tokyo subway.



opened its first and only money-making bullet line, the JNR has run up deficits of more than \$84 billion, equivalent to the outstanding foreign debt of Mexico. The government is now studying a plan to break up JNR and sell it to private interests.

Besides losing passengers, the JNR has lost out to trucks and ships in the freight market. Because of their advantage over the short-haul trucks now carry about 45 percent of freight, a threefold increase over 1960. Ships, too, have modestly increased their share

since 1960. As a result, rail today moves only 7.4 percent of Japan's freight, down from 39 percent 25 years ago.

Yet trains remain indispensable, especially in major cities like Tokyo and Osaka, where they carry millions of commuters. In 1983, private railroads carried 11.5 billion passengers, and even with its troubles, the JNR carried 6.74 billion.

The JNR's system consists mostly of intercity trunk lines and large numbers of secondary, largely ru-

ral, lines. Japan's 14 major private railroads specialize in passenger service but avoid competing directly with the JNR by radiating out from urban areas. Yet the prosperous private railroads are, in fact, more business conglomerates than simply rail companies — most of their profits come from interests in real estate, department stores, amusement parks, even baseball teams.

The major problem facing Japan's transport system is crowding. Inadequate government investment, coupled with the rapid

growth of major urban areas in the past 25 years, has strained the capacity of transport facilities.

Yet despite this, stations are virtually spotless, trains frequent and on time, and fares are relatively modest and maps, schedules and color-coded transfer instructions are easy to follow. In major cities, station names and other information are also given in English.

Japan's transport system is likely to remain overloaded for years to come. The government is not in a

financial position to take the lead in building more railroads, highways or subway lines.

Meanwhile, Japan's automakers continue to build cars for the domestic market. In 1984, they sold record 5.44 million vehicles home. But the road system can handle many more cars and there are signs the market may be nearing saturation. The growth in domestic auto sales has slowed steadily in recent years and sales were only 1 percent in 1984 over the year before.

## Foreign Cars Lend an Air of Snobbery — and Defiance

TOKYO — Considering the cost and problems involved in owning a foreign car here and the dubious image imports have in conformist Japan, it is hardly surprising that ownership of one implies an element of snobbery — and, at times, defiance.

Shipping costs and hefty dealer markups put foreign cars out of reach of the vast majority of Japanese. Even a stripped-down Volkswagen Golf costs roughly twice as much as a comparable Japanese car. A middle-of-the-line BMW or Mercedes-Benz costs as much as most Japanese earn in a year. Last year, 3,097,554 passenger cars were sold in Japan; of that total, only 41,982, or 1.4 percent, were foreign made.

In Japan, all cars, domestic and imported, are heavily taxed, with buyers paying more than \$2,500 per vehicle, about nine times what Americans pay. Imports face even stiffer taxes because they are usually bigger. Cars with engine displacements of less than 2000cc face an 18.5-percent commodity tax and those above that capacity are charged a 23-percent tax. Last year, only 80,000 cars with engines larger than 2000cc were sold in Japan, but 20 percent were foreign made. Automakers like BMW Japan say they face discrimination.

Imports also cost more to maintain and repair. Owners often have to wait for parts to be shipped from overseas, and when they arrive, they cost more. There are fewer than 1,000 outlets for foreign automobiles, compared with more than 12,000 for domestic cars. Many dealers only handle imports as a

sideline, so owners may experience trouble with service.

Imports, especially American cars, tend to consume a lot of gasoline, and that is a consideration in Japan, where gasoline costs about \$2 a gallon (7.6 liters).

Imports are also inconvenient. Most are left-hand drive while Japanese models are right-hand drive. This presents problems when passing another car, parking and paying tolls. Moreover, big American and European cars are harder to maneuver and park in Japan, where streets are narrow and congested.

Besides the cost and inconvenience, there are other, less tangible, problems with owning a foreign car. Because foreign cars are expensive, many Japanese assume the people driving them are rich.

While they may turn heads on the street, flashy foreign cars raise questions at the tax office. Last year, tax authorities, under pressure to crack down on cheaters, announced a new policy to go over the returns of self-employed people who own foreign cars.

With their obvious snob appeal, imported cars can evoke feelings of jealousy, sometimes resulting in vandalism. Officials at BMW Japan report that owners complain of mysterious scratches and dents.

As a rule, the Japanese frown on conspicuous consumption.

Top executives of leading Japanese companies choose domestic models over imports. There is also an image problem with some

foreign cars. If you drive a Volkswagen "Beetle" or a Mini, you may be seen as trendy and internationally minded, but a big flashy automobile might associate you with the yakuza, or Japanese organized crime.

But despite all the reasons not to own a foreign car, the market for imports is recovering from a four-year decline, with the West Germans squarely in the driver's seat.

Foreign-car sales peaked in 1979, the year before the second "oil shock," at 60,161 units. West German automakers — led by Volkswagen, Audi, Mercedes-Benz and BMW — had 55 percent of the market, while Detroit held around 28 percent. Sales of imports slumped as the Japanese economy contracted.

But last year, reflecting the business recovery, sales of imported cars increased 19 percent, to 41,982 units, with West German makers increasing their share to 77 percent. Detroit, however, continued to slip, with sales of U.S. cars falling 10 percent, to 2,382 units, just 5 percent of the market.

A decade ago, American cars were popular with some self-made businessmen and show-business people but U.S.-made cars share since developed a reputation among some Japanese for shoddy workmanship and poor quality. West German cars, on the other hand, are perceived as better engineered, better made and classier.

— MARC BEAUCHAMP

## New Automated Office Needs More Employees To Push the Buttons

By Jon Woronoff

TOKYO — Production of office automation equipment is booming in Japan, but rather than eliminating jobs in the office, it seems to be creating them. The reasons for this apparent contradiction are to be found in the country's economic system and corporate culture.

The output of computers, word processors, facsimile machines, photocopiers and dozens of other such items is growing at double-digit rates. But the need continues for salaried employees and office women who combine the functions of secretary and housemaid.

In fact, major companies have been hiring slightly more personnel and they show a special interest in those who can work the new machinery.

Part of the reason for this lies in how the Japanese economy functions. To begin with, much of the increased production has not been for Japanese consumption. At least half of the office machines pro-

duced have been exported, especially to the United States and Europe. The actual penetration of such equipment in the Japanese market has therefore been much slower than would appear from production figures.

But the more significant factors arise out of Japan's corporate culture, which has proved to be resistant to integrating the machinery. Although companies want the latest gadgets, in many cases the equipment is not really used. It is parked on a table or desk, in plain view of visitors, but merely gathers dust because no one knows exactly what to do with it.

While the equipment is user friendly, this does not take into account the quirks of the Japanese management system. Decision-making is a group affair, based on long and close personal contacts. The computer is too cold a tool for individual managers; they cannot really use it and it cannot really replace them.

Moreover, a Japanese executive may feel that using a machine, any machine, is beneath him. Thus, technicians or female office workers are hired to work the equipment.

The result has been not a computer on each desk but a bunch of machines off in the corner in the form of a computer pool, just like the typing pool, with other new equipment gathered around. The operators are mostly women, some of them freshly hired for the purpose, others having undergone some additional training. Any loss of personnel is minor. Such pools can be seen not only in ordinary companies but even in the offices of securities firms or computer manufacturers.

Another reason for the anomaly of growing services employment despite automation is that the authorities are seriously worried about a decrease in jobs in this sector at the very time that automation is really creating unemployment in manufacturing. There, process of automation, which has advanced to robotization and has gone as far as "unmanned factories," is destroying jobs at a fast pace. The unemployed must go somewhere and the services have always been the employer of last resort.

So, while the Ministry of International Trade and Industry has been pushing automation for manufacturing, funding some of the research and offering cheap loans to



Lunchtime at a Tokyo snack shop.

purchase robots, it has not made similar efforts for the services. It is not that possibilities do not exist. There are already prototypes of robots to clean floors or windows, to serve drinks or the like. But the last thing the ministry wants is to throw cleaning women, waitresses or maintenance men out of work.

The Ministry of Labor is even more committed to making the services sector an abundant source of jobs. According to its projections, the share of workers in the agricultural sector will decrease to 7.7 percent by 1990, at which time manufacturing's share will have slipped to 32.1 percent. This means that service industries will be employing 60.2 percent of the total labor force in 1990, almost 5 percent more than in 1980.

Since it has to secure work for about 3 million more people, the Ministry of Labor does not want to see a reduction in traditional service jobs.

Japanese society does not seem ready to tolerate the loss of service

jobs either. The onslaught of automation has been undercut nearly turned back by what appears to be more foibles of corporate culture. Some people do like to do certain jobs themselves and prefer to have them done that way. That is the very nature of service industries.

More generally, the Japanese like to have people to serve them. They enjoy going to bars, restaurants, game centers, golf courses and so on. Those they prefer to the best service, which means more people in nicer forms to look after them and them like the distinguished old they are (or want to be). The fact that this lavish use of personnel costs does not bother them. They are willing to pay the bill.

Jon Woronoff is the author of several books on Japan including "pan's Wasted Workers" (Press, 1981) and, more recently, "The Japan Syndrome" (Press, 1983).

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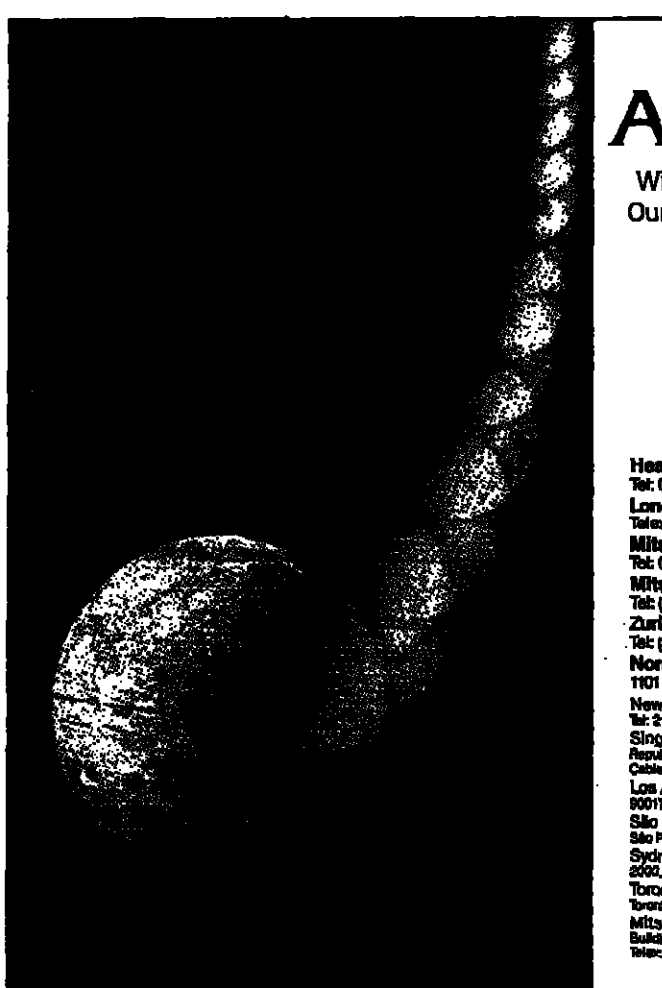
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## Society Remains Unchanged Despite 'New-Media' Boom

By Martin Roth

TOKYO — The Japanese call them "New Media," those communications systems seen as the wave of the future, such as videotex, cable and satellite television and various forms of computer information networks. And for the past few years the country has been in the grip of a New Media boom, with well over 100 books published on the subject and a flurry of government and private surveys and reports.

Yet, despite this interest, Japanese society has so far remained remarkably unaltered by the telecommunications revolution. "There are no electronic cottages," said Richard Greer, senior representative of Baring Far East Securities, which for several years has been carrying out a series of surveys of the Japanese electronics and telecommunications industries. "People still want to get out of their houses to work. And the housewives go out shopping every day. Tele-shopping from home hasn't caught on yet."

In fact, some people see the New Media as a tool working against change in Japanese society. In "Interactive Home Systems," one of Baring's latest reports on Japan, a market analyst, Alex Stewart, wrote: "Japanese society is also concerned to empower the individual—not, as we may understand that in the West, to make him more individual, but to make him more useful and dependable. Information technology is seen as complementary to this endeavor."

Many observers believe gradual changes are now under way, with younger people increasingly concerned about individual happiness and less interested in their careers. But these trends are probably precipitated more by factors such as the booming economy and an increase in personal wealth than by the communications revolution, which has hit the country rather late.

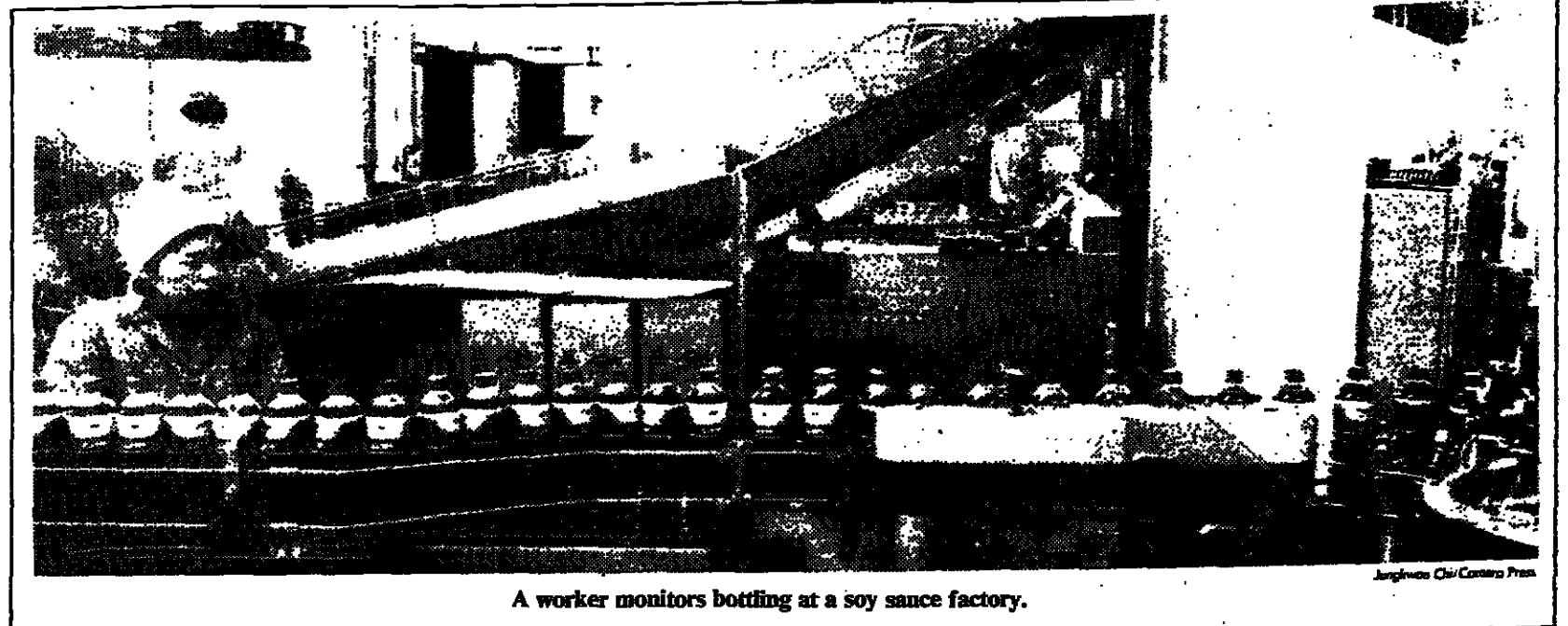
Although Japan is a leading developer and manufacturer of electronic equipment, most of its New Media progress has trailed devel-

opments in other countries. (This has not always been such a bad thing, as Japan has had the chance to learn from the mistakes of others and has generally been able to develop a more integrated approach.)

For instance, cable television exists in limited form only. On-line data bases are still very undeveloped. A videotex service called CAPTAIN, for Character and Pattern Telephone Access Information Network, was introduced last year after several years of trials. It allows users to communicate through their television sets with a central computer, but has yet to attract a big following.

Despite a seeming lack of enthusiasm among many Japanese, some companies continue their New Media experiments, although it is still too early to predict the results.

For instance, Hitachi Software Engineering of Yokohama has begun a program of installing personal computers in the homes of its programmers to allow them to work at home. The employees are expected to report to the office only



A worker monitors bottling at a soy sauce factory.

once or twice each month for instructions.

An experiment in "tele-commuting" by NEC Corp. is probably more in tune with the Japanese character. Instead of having em-

ployees work in their homes, the company has established a satellite office in a large residential area, connected by computer communications to the head office. Groups of employees living in that area work together on data processing.

One of the most innovative retail firms in Japan is the Seibu group of department stores. It has just opened a new store in Tsukuba Science City that features a videotex network that will allow local used-car dealers to feed information about automobiles for sale. Shoppers will be able to consult a monitor in the store, simply punching in details of the car they are looking for to learn what is available.

The store also features its own studio with a direct link to a local cable television station.

But it is in the coming two decades, rather than in the next couple of years, that Japan is most likely to undergo a transformation, as integrated New Media programs now being implemented take effect.

In 1981, the Nippon Telegraph

and Telephone Public Corp. launched a 20-year plan to establish a new digital telecommunications infrastructure, built around optical-fiber lines and satellite communications. A common set of protocols will ensure that voice, picture and data signals can be integrated into a common system.

Total integration of the infrastructure will begin in 1995, and many analysts believe major changes may occur then in Japanese society.

The Economic Planning Agency, in a report prepared last year, said that home electronic shopping via two-way cable television will be slow in coming, but once it arrives, it could mean a crisis for the nation's retailers, with a major reorganization of retail, wholesale and distribution businesses.

The Ministry of International Trade and Industry has also prepared several reports on the New Media. In one, issued in December 1983, it foresaw major advances in education and medical care as a result of new telecommunications systems.

## Industry Associations

(Continued From Page 12)

ment roles in the very industries they used to supervise.

This tradition of *amakudori*, or "descent from heaven," is blamed by some for creating undue conservatism between the bureaucracy and industry, especially in the years directly preceding retirement of an official, when he does not want to anger his future boss.

Others praise the institution as facilitating smooth government-business communications, and note that it allows the bureaucracy to delegate a good deal of regulatory power to the industry associations themselves: a hand in the glove is better than a slap on the wrist.

But the spirit of free competition is starting to catch on in some industries as sophisticated management becomes less reliant on government guidance and as the government's fiscal crisis and Japan's surplus of capital makes en-

terprises, including high-tech ones, less dependent on government financial assistance.

The swelling power of big business lies in well-managed individual enterprises and not in the consensual organization of industry associations, analysts say.

The ministry, they say, may end up being the defender of the weaker ends of each industry that used to be protected by the group rule of the stronger.

The days when the ministry controlled the import of all raw materials and capital and could thereby control the leading industries—steel, petrochemicals and metals—are gone with the prime of those industries themselves.

And a few observers say that the attitude of some high-tech management toward control of individual corporate rights is different, that there is something of a new breed emerging.

## Ministries Vie for Telecommunications Control

TOKYO — When the Japanese government called on two ministries to help draft new legislation last year to liberalize the country's Value Added Network (VAN) rules, the result was unexpected.

For a month the two sides, the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications and the Ministry of International Trade and Industry, were deadlocked over the question of how far to go in allowing foreign firms to enter the market for VAN, a system of electronic mail that is especially used among companies that do not have computer compatibility.

The Ministry of Posts wanted severe restrictions on foreign participation in Japanese VANs, while the Trade Ministry insisted that there should be no limits on overseas capital.

The issue was resolved when senior politicians of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party mediated, and ruled largely in the Trade Ministry's favor, although allowing the Posts Ministry to retain significant controls.

But in fact, the squabble had been about far more than the entry of foreign capital. According to observers, the Trade Ministry argued for a deregulated system mainly because of its strong desire to deny more power to the Posts Ministry.

And behind this loomed an even larger issue: which ministry will gain long-term control of the crucial electronics and telecommunications industries in Japan.

Further controversy has arisen over the planned privatization this year of the Nippon Telegraph and Telephone Public Corp., oper-

ator of Japan's domestic telephone services. Details are still not final, but the Posts Ministry will exercise authority over the issuance of shares. It has proposed the establishment of a special corporation that would receive one-third of the Nippon Telegraph shares and would use the dividends to support the development of basic telecommunications technology.

Which of the two ministries will predominate is still far from clear. Will the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications become the new Ministry of International Trade and Industry, protectionist and powerful? Many people believe that the Trade Ministry could end up taking over some of the functions of the Posts Ministry.

— MARTIN ROTH

## A Nation's Minorities: A 'Nonexistent' Social Problem That Refuses to Go Away

By Peter McGill

TOKYO — Japanese pride themselves on having a "homogeneous" race, culture and society. "We're fortunate in not sharing your country's social and racial problems," visitors will often be told. Should the visitor insist that Japan surely has its own minorities, the reply will usually be, "Yes, but they're very small in number."

Since Japan's three main minority groups account for only 2 percent of the 120 million population, such complacency may not be surprising.

Yet this year alone, the central government intends to spend almost 220 billion yen (\$846 million) in aid to just two of these groups and local governments have also set aside billions of yen for this purpose.

The *burakumin*, Japan's largest minority group and the biggest recipients of government aid, officially ceased to exist more than a hundred years ago, when the Meiji government abolished the remnants of the feudal system. At the bottom of this pyramid had been the *eta* ("full of filth") and *hinin* ("nonhuman"), the untouchable classes.

The *eta* worked in "unclean" occupations connected with death, as slaughtermen, gravediggers, animal slaughterers or leather workers who tanned hides. *Hinin* were largely entertainers, also considered "impure." Marriage by other Japanese with members of these castes was forbidden and they were forced to live in segregated areas, the *buraku* (villages or hamlets), from which the modern name *burakumin* derives. An edict in 1871 officially abolished their inferior status but discrimination, fed by their still taboo status, persists into the 1980s.

Racially identical and physically indistinguishable from other Japanese, the only means for an outsider to determine who is *burakumin* is from his home or birthplace. Japan's system of family registration at local government offices has made it relatively simple for crooks to print lists of *buraku* ghetto areas. Peddled at 30,000 yen a copy, such lists were snapped up in the late 1970s by at least 140 Japanese companies, many of them world-famous names, in order to weed out the *burakumin* from prospective employees. (Big Japanese companies normally investigate the personal background of possible recruits to the lifetime employment they offer, often hiring detective agencies to do the work.)

The buyers of the lists were revealed by the militant Buraku Liberation League, and humiliated company presidents were pressured by the league to make big donations to the *burakumin* or, in the case of one major bank, to hold compulsory "human rights" classes after work for the staff. The league since then reports it is continuing to turn up lists and that prejudice against hiring *burakumin* in good jobs is unabated.

Today, the government recognizes 1,162,583 *burakumin* in Japan, but even officials concerned with the problem admit there may be at least 3 million, as many have left the ghettos in an attempt to "pass" as ordinary Japanese and avoid prejudice in marriage and employment. Most of the ghettos are concentrated in the Kansai district of Kyoto-Kobe, in the northern part of Kyushu Island and in parts of Shikoku Island. There are, however, many *buraku* around Tokyo in Nagano, Saitama and Gumma prefectures. Within metropolitan Tokyo, an estimated 400,000

*burakumin* live in 220 ghettos, clustered around the Sumida river in the north of the city.

Once the site of a crematorium and slaughter houses, Arakawa ward by the Sumida is now the center of Japan's billion-dollar-a-year leather industry, thanks to the *burakumin* retaining their monopoly in this formerly "polluting" trade.

Like the *burakumin* families who control much of Japan's beef industry, this domination of animal trades has international repercussions. While Japanese pay high prices for shoes, leather goods and beef because of such inefficient monopolies and government protection of them, Japan is unwilling (or unable) to agree to open the market to cheaper foreign beef and leather. As Tokyo negotiators explain to irate officials from the United States and Australia, to do so would risk creating unemployment among the *burakumin*, risking a political upheaval.

Government aid for the group this year totals more than 218.5 billion yen. At the Ashihara *buraku* in Osaka where I visited, apartment blocks have replaced the shacks that used to stand on the banks of the river and the *buraku* now has its own clinic, supermarket and social center. What is lacking is the same employment level as the rest of Osaka and the removal of the invisible social barriers that prevent *burakumin* being accepted by the rest of society.

Unemployment in many *buraku* such as Ashihara is up to 20 times the national average and more than twice as many *burakumin* work as day laborers than other Japanese.

The Aizu, Japan's other "indigenous" minority, have fared even worse. A separate aboriginal race

that came from Western Asia more than 7,000 years ago, the recognizable hairy Aizu were the original inhabitants of Japan but were pushed by successive waves of "Japanese" settlers into the northern island of Hokkaido. The Aizu continued their traditional way of life on Hokkaido until the 19th century, when Tokyo embarked on forced settlement of the island by Japanese to ease population pressures on the chief island of Honshu.

Most of the Aizu were driven from their lands, many "assimilated" with Japanese by intermarriage or taking inferior work such as joining labor gangs. Looked down on by most Japanese as "primitives," there are now only 24,000 Aizu left on Hokkaido. About 40 percent still cling to forestry, fishing and farming and another 30 percent are engaged in construction or mining. Many of the rest are on welfare or make a living from dressing up in traditional costumes and making wood carvings for tourists.

This year, the Aizu will receive more than 1.24 billion yen in central government subsidies and another 2.9 billion yen from local governments in Hokkaido.

Koreans are another minority issue for the Tokyo government. Annexed in 1910, Korea was part of the Japanese Empire until defeat in 1945. During World War II, millions of Koreans were brought to Japan as forced labor and today's 660,000 Korean residents (by far the biggest group of noncitizens) are those who remained or their offspring.

Japanese and Koreans have a long and bitter history of distrust and racial enmity, with Koreans particularly mindful of past Japanese persecution and exploitation.

Korean residents, many of whom can only speak Japanese, continue to face discrimination in Japan in employment, housing, education and social contacts.

The nationality issue, and in particular the process of registration for "alien registration cards," has come to be the focus and symbol of what this minority regards as Japanese persecution.

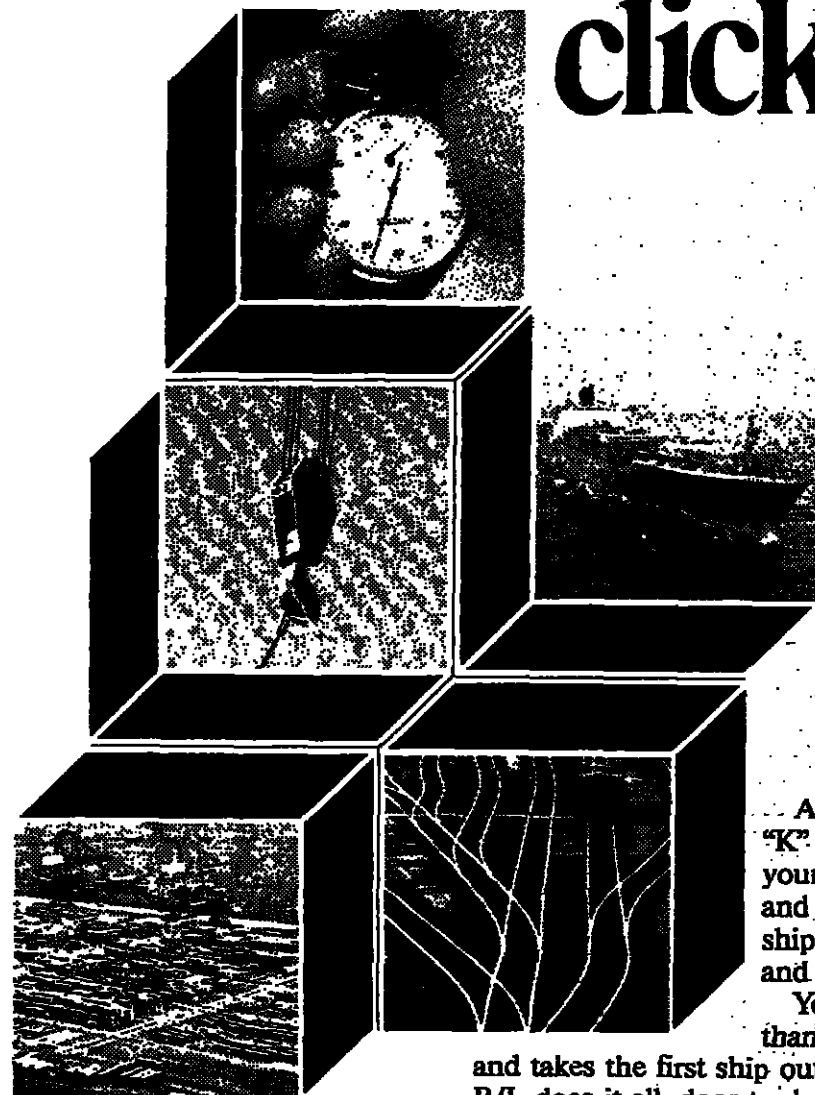
In 1952, Koreans were deprived of their Japanese citizenship and became classed as "alien residents" if they remained in Japan. Until recently, as aliens, they were excluded from many government welfare and assistance plans and still have no civil or voting rights. The alien identity card was especially resented for its requirement that the bearer should be finger-

printed, which otherwise applies only to criminals. In recent years, a number of Korean residents have refused to be fingerprinted and some other foreign residents have joined their ranks in a campaign of civil disobedience.

Koreans in Japan do have the option of seeking "naturalization" as Japanese citizens, but the government requirements for this are

seen as equally humiliating. Applicants must not only offer proof of "assimilation" into Japanese culture (principally, this means an ability to speak Japanese) but must also adopt a Japanese name for official registration. All Koreans were forced by a law in 1940 to use a Japanese name and the practice has racist overtones for Koreans today.

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## A SPECIAL REPORT ON JAPAN

## More Women Working, but Inequality Remains

By Nobuko Hashimoto

TOKYO—Japan signed a pledge to end discrimination against women during the United Nations decade for women, which ends this year, but actual changes seem slow in coming.

There are some signs of movement: Last November, the cabinet got its first woman minister in 22 years; an equal-opportunity bill has been the focus of attention in the Diet and the media, and waits to be ratified this year; and women workers, who now account for nearly 40 percent of the work force, are an increasingly important part of the economy.

Many women, too, seem to feel that they are better off now. In a government opinion poll last year, 73 percent of the women surveyed said the position of women had improved in the last 10 years. A greater number of women, 41 percent this year against 34 percent in 1979, disagreed with the concept that "a man's duty is to work, and that a woman should stay at home." The number of women who agreed remained about 36 percent, the same as in 1979.

But even with more women joining the work force, studies show that two out of every five women are unhappy with existing work conditions. Their choices are limited, working conditions are poor and there are too few child-care centers. Society as a whole has ambiguous attitudes to women who have careers outside their homes. Many families and companies expect women to give up their jobs after they get married or when they have their first child, said Kazuko Kawakami, a woman who recently shifted to a temporary job after she got married.

"I got tired of being criticized by my relatives and colleagues that I was a bad wife just because I wasn't always ready with a cooked meal when my husband came home from work," she said.

Many other women are taking part-time jobs because they are the only ones easily available. A woman looking for a

full-time job quickly learns how closed the market is. Many large corporations shut out women graduates from job interviews because they claim that women have little staying power and quit after a few years to get married.

But women point out that many leave their jobs after a few years because they are frustrated with the little challenge they get and because their male colleagues pressure them to leave to get married after they reach 25, the age by which many still believe women should marry. As one 32-year-old woman analyst in a market research firm said, "Until a few years ago, my male colleagues kept pushing me to get married. Now they've given up, but they also call me an old maid."

Those companies that hire women tend to look for beauty rather than brains, a personnel manager of a trading company admitted recently. Expressions such as "office flower" are still commonly used to describe working women.

Once in their jobs, these full-time working women find that they earn much less than their male counterparts. Their starting salaries are almost equal, but the gap widens from there. Women earning their peak salaries (in their middle to late 50s) get about half what men make during their peak salary years (in their middle to late 40s), according to the Labor Ministry.

But the official figures suggest that a growing number of working women are getting even less. About half of the working women, or 12 percent of the labor force, are part-time employees earning low wages with no fringe benefits. Most of them are married women, between the ages of 35 and 49, who are returning to work after their children are old enough to look after themselves, according to a report by the Hakuhodo Institute of Life and Living.

They usually work about six hours a day, five days a week; their average hourly pay is about 561 yen (\$2.16), about 76

percent of what full-time working women make, and about half that of men, a Japanese economic newspaper reported. Since they do not belong to a labor union, the companies do not have to give them the protection or the benefits that full-time workers get. That means no paid holidays, no overtime pay, no welfare benefits, nor even written contracts, meaning that they can be dismissed at short notice.

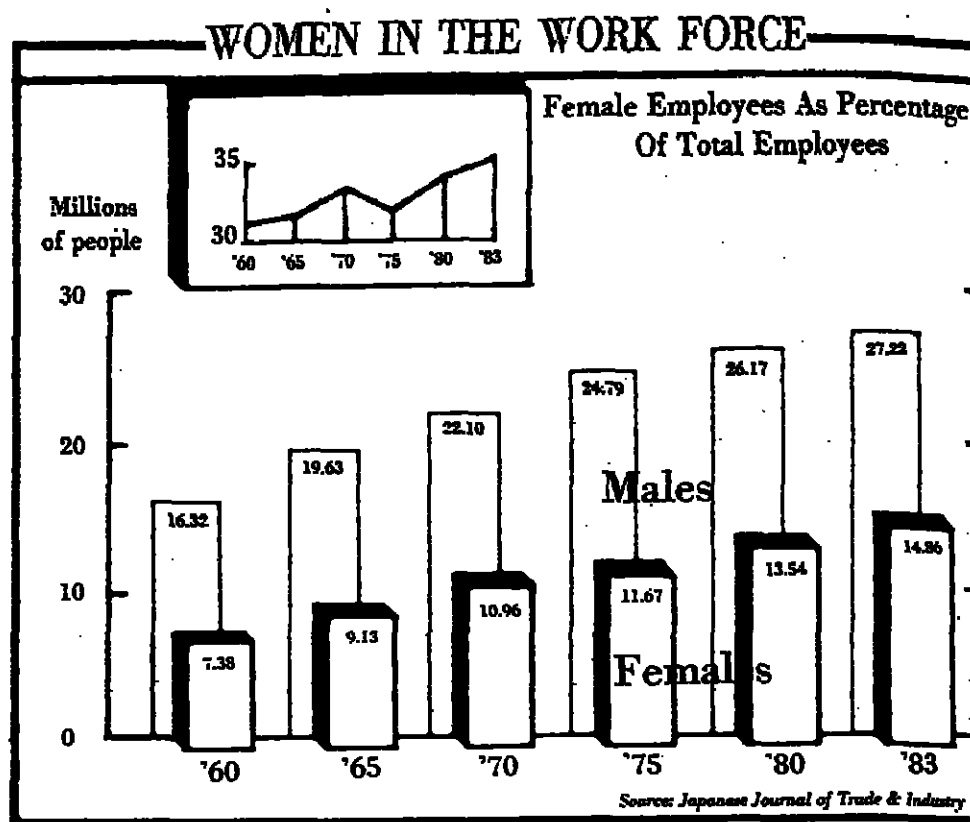
Companies are turning to these women as a "convenient and inexpensive source of labor," according to a Japanese economic daily report. "In fact, these women are supporting the industries," a labor analyst said.

The outlook is that the number of part-time women workers is likely to increase even more with the rapid spread of computerization, and there is some fear the women will put unskilled male workers out of their jobs.

"Since a computer operator's job doesn't require any special skills and can therefore be done by anybody, a company might as well give the job to a part-time woman worker," a social analyst said.

The Hakuhodo report cited two themes that often crop up in conversations among Japanese women, particularly housewives: *jitsuzo*, or independence, and *higai*, purpose in life. Kei Sabashi, founder of Idea Bank, an all-women research company, said that with more and more women venturing out of their homes this way, the Japanese words, *okusan*, for wife (literally, "a person of the interior") is becoming anachronistic. Instead, she suggested, they should be called *soto-san*, or "a person who is outside."

But not all women want to be *soto-san*, yet. Last year's government survey found that many women are still indifferent to the feminist cause. More than half the women questioned had not heard of the "UN women's decade," while nearly two-thirds did not know that an equal-opportunity bill had been proposed in the Diet.



## Japan's Welfare System Needs Rebirth for Its Aging Society

By Barbara Slavin

TOKYO—In the next 35 years, Japan will go from having the youngest population in the developed world to having the oldest.

This aging of society will test the country's capacity to adapt to new circumstances to stem economic decline and cope with profound social changes.

The demographic turnaround is the byproduct of Japan's success in transforming itself from a largely rural nation of extended families into an urban industrial society of small nuclear families.

The transformation was so swift that basic welfare systems common to advanced Western nations were in place only a decade ago. Yet Japan is already having to alter those systems in an effort to ensure they will still be solvent in the year 2020, when nearly one out of every four Japanese will be over 65.

As in its industrializing phase, Japan is learning from Western experience in organizing its new welfare state. Where the United States, for example, allowed its Social Security pension system to become virtually bankrupt before taking action, the Japanese are trying to look ahead.

"We are reforming our pension system now while it still has more than 40 trillion yen [\$173 billion] in

the fund," said Takehiko Yamaguchi, director of the pension section in the Ministry of Health and Welfare.

Legislation pending in the upper house of the Diet would unify the administration and financing of major pension programs, extend basic benefits to the entire aged population and limit their levels to the current 68 percent of average monthly income, excluding bonuses.

Such a freeze would keep the pension payroll tax, currently 10.6 percent (split by employer and employee), from rising beyond 28.9 percent in the year 2025, when pension payouts will be at their peak.

"That is about the same level of contribution as West Germany at present," said Mr. Yamaguchi. Without the reform, he said, the payroll tax could rise to 38.8 percent. "We think this is beyond the capacity of workers and employers, and the system would collapse."

The central government subsidizes between 20 and 30 percent of pension benefits. It picks up 30 percent of overall medical costs and 80 percent of the bill for caring for the aged. Health and Welfare Ministry officials say that facilities for the elderly are already insufficient and will be more strained in the future, when there will be more old people and fewer of them will

be taken care of by their children. While nearly 70 percent of Japanese over 65 now live with the children, that percentage is expected to drop to 50 percent by the year 2000.

"By the turn of the century, we will need 1,748 more facilities for the aged," said Soji Tanaka, administrative gerontologist with the ministry. "By the year 2030, we will need 4,496 more. It is impossible to meet these goals." The solution, he said, is for local and individuals to make a big contribution.

Society's investment in welfare, therefore, must rise, whether through higher fees or increased government subsidies funded by taxes.

Naohiro Yashiro, of the government's Economic Planning Agency, argues that Japan's comparatively high savings rate of 20 to 25 percent must be brought down. The high savings that fuel Japan's economic growth in the past, he writes, was not so much a function of Japanese frugality as the low tax burden.

A positive effect of scarcer savings would be a further liberalization of Japan's stodgy financial system, as banks and brokers scrambled to devise more investment opportunities at higher interest rates. Foreign financial institutions are hoping that such a change would increase their Japanese business and give them a crack at the

most profound social change attending the aging society: the shift of Japan's economic success to the work ethic and company loyalty resulting from "lifetime" employment. The rise in life expectancy has already made that term a mission.

Under government and labor union pressure, most companies are raising the retirement age to 65. But they are doing so at the expense of the seniority system, which is gone hand-in-hand with lifetime employment. Many are freezing cutting the wages of their over-employees, making them take leave or jobs or reducing or eliminating lump-sum retirement benefits.

"We Japanese have come to expect our companies to take care of us," said Mariko Bando, a sociologist and director of international affairs for the Science Council of Japan. "If lifetime employment and promotion are no longer by right, then our loyalty and morale will also erode."

Miss Bando foresees declining productivity due to the increasing affluence of society as well as advancing age. Young people raised without any memory of economic hardship, she says, are not as willing to devote themselves to work for their parents and grandparents.

## Social Benefits Leading to a Costly Welfare State

By Nancy Ukai

TOKYO—Although Japan is a long way from becoming a welfare haven along the lines of the "Swedish model," where 69 percent of national income goes to taxes and social programs, economists are worried that the country may be on the way to becoming a costly welfare state.

Many of Japan's welfare programs are based on Western models. The 50-year-old health insurance system was modeled after German laws, and Japan's supplemental income program was in large part designed by U.S. Occupation authorities.

But due to a long tradition of family support for the aged, infirm and disabled, most Japanese are still apt to turn to relatives rather than to the state in times of need. (The high rate of personal savings in Japan—20 percent of income—

can largely be attributed to people's lack of trust in the government's welfare programs.)

The low proportion of elderly in the population has also kept down the overall cost of welfare programs. As a result, Japanese still pay far less for social insurance programs than their European counterparts.

According to the Economic Planning Agency, 10.4 percent of national income in 1982 went to pension and medical expenses, which account for more than 80 percent of all welfare spending in Japan. This compares with 20 percent in Sweden, 28 percent in France and 23 percent in West Germany. Japan's low welfare spending is often cited as one reason for the health and vitality of its economy.

But the Japanese population is aging at the fastest rate in the world; 40 years from now, 22 per-

cent of the population will be 65 years or older, the highest proportion for any nation. "Medical cost for the aged and pension payments will mushroom," said Yoshiaki Taguchi of the Economic Planning Agency.

According to the Health and Welfare Ministry, if the present pension system is continued, higher social security payments to the top-heavy population of retirees will take up 20 percent of national income in 2025, almost five times the present figure.

Critics warn that similar problems will confront the economy if belt-tightening steps are not taken now to reform ambitious welfare programs that were created in the late 1960s and early 1970s, when the economy was booming.

Yet most social programs only provide the bare minimum of aid and cannot be trimmed any further, said Yuichi Nakamura, a professor at the Japan School of Social Work. He pointed out that only 1.2 percent of Japanese receive supplemental income, compared with more than 8 percent in the United States and the Britain.

For a Tokyo family of four, the poverty line is roughly 1.88 million yen (\$7,300) a year, and a breadwinner whose income is below this figure can apply for financial aid to make up the difference. "The standard of compensation is comparable to the United States," Mr. Nakamura said. "It's just that it's hard to get."

He doesn't think this budget can be pared.

Mr. Nakamura foresees rising costs in other areas. Due to a higher divorce rate, the cost of supporting children has increased rapidly. As women enter the work force in greater numbers, more day-care facilities will need to be built, while spending in other areas, such as for the disabled, must maintain its level, he said.

But the most controversial issue is the reform of the nation's costly pension and health plans.

Aware of forecasts that spending for medical care could triple or quadruple by 2025, legislators have passed politically unpopular bills that force patients to pay higher shares of medical costs. Last autumn, a law went into effect under which salaried workers must pay 10 percent of medical fees, with the provision that this figure eventually rise to 20 percent.

Japan's pension system is the biggest target for reform. "The program is almost too generous," said Takao Komine, an analyst at the Economic Planning Agency. "It must be changed but there's no simple way to do it."

Under the complicated system,

which is comprised of seven different plans, 90 percent of all Japanese are covered by two funds: the Kosei Nenkin (employees' pension) and Kokumin Nenkin (national pension).

Under the former plan, which covers company employees, male contributors who pay into the system for 32 years receive monthly benefits equal to 68 percent of their average monthly income, excluding the semiannual bonuses, an ample figure by international standards. In the latter system, which covers farmers, the self-employed and housewives, the monthly benefit is 84,000 yen (\$324) for a married couple in which both members had been contributing for 25 years.

Even now, the system is already doing out funds at a faster rate than it is taking them in, and it could go bankrupt in 15 years if changes are not made soon.

However, by 2020, when the number of retirees will have grown to six times the present figure, premiums will have to quadruple in order to support pension payments. Moreover, the ratio of young workers supporting pensioners will have shrunk from the present 7-to-1 ratio to 3-to-1, a government official said.

Mr. Komine said: "The balance between workers and pensioners will disintegrate, and the aged will have no incentive to work while young people will resent the heavy burden of having to support them."

A bill now before the Diet would abolish the old system and provide a flat, monthly pension of 50,000 yen per month to each retiree, with supplemental income added on according to the amount of past contributions deducted from monthly pay. Under the new system, payments would stay at the present level of about 70 percent of income despite the contributor's longer years of participation.

"It isn't perfect, but it would be an improvement" over the current system, in which highly paid civil servants may retire in luxury while the poor and the disabled receive minimal benefits, Mr. Nakamura said.

Government economists say that the revised system is vital to the health of the Japanese economy itself. They aim to keep the combined welfare and tax burden to 45 percent and hope that extra income for the pensioners will be provided by savings, families and part-time jobs taken on by retirees.

## After Retirement: 'Lucky Ones' Find Jobs

TOKYO—"I am one of the lucky ones, so please don't use my name," said the distinguished-looking elderly man in the blue striped suit.

A retired top official at a Tokyo bus company, he said got his new job as a translator with a government office through a friend of his former boss. "The president of the bus company himself was retired from a government agency where he had been a kind of big shot," the retiree said.

Because there is a gap between retirement and the pensionable age of as much as 10 years, 70 percent of Japanese retirees find new jobs for financial reasons, according to the Association for the Development of the Aged, a government and business-supported group.

Eighty percent of retirees between the ages of 55 and 60 get a second job, often at the same company or a subsidiary, with the assistance of their first employer, the association says. Another 10 percent find jobs through other means. The remaining 10 percent are unemployed. After age 60, according to the association, only 60 percent of the labor force is working.

Labor Ministry officials say the unemployment rate among the elderly is only 2.7 percent. Agencies promoting employment of the aged say the figure does not take into account many senior citizens who would like to work but have given up because they can find no suitable jobs.

The only organizations providing jobs for the elderly among the general public are the so-called Corporations for the Aged. Founded in Tokyo 10 years ago, there are now more than 200 of these organizations, nicknamed "Silver Talent Centers," employing 100,000 people nationwide.

Tokyo has fifty-four centers, with 34,000 "members," or 2.3 percent of the population over 60, according to Saburo Morita, director of the Tokyo Foundation for the Promotion of Corporations for the Aged.

The centers, which are nonprofit, provide a variety of part-time work, much of it manual and some of it beyond the physical abilities of most elderly people. There is a surfeit of jobs for janitors and night watchmen, for example. The centers provide training in crafts such as house painting and gardening, Mr. Morita said, and also try to convince older people to change their attitudes to become more receptive to doing work that may be "beneath" what they did in their professional careers. Members earn on average \$200 a month.

Torazo Nakamura, 73, one of the 600 members of the Silver Center in Tokyo's Minato Ward, began working when he was 11. It was difficult to give up his job as a master tailor six years ago, because of declining business, but "I realized I shouldn't stick to my pride," he said.

A former patron told him about the Silver Center. His first job was at a company that cleans and repairs appliances for foreign residents. Then he learned gardening. In off-seasons, he does simple piecemeal at the center, such as gluing together booklets for a watch company.

Mr. Morita estimates that the potential pool for Silver Center workers is at least three times bigger than the membership. He concedes the centers have shortcomings but calls them, "a kind of experiment for the future. We have to prepare a whole menu for the aged to play some role in society, so they can feel life is worth living."

—BARBARA SLAVIN



An elderly woman selling newspapers in Tokyo.

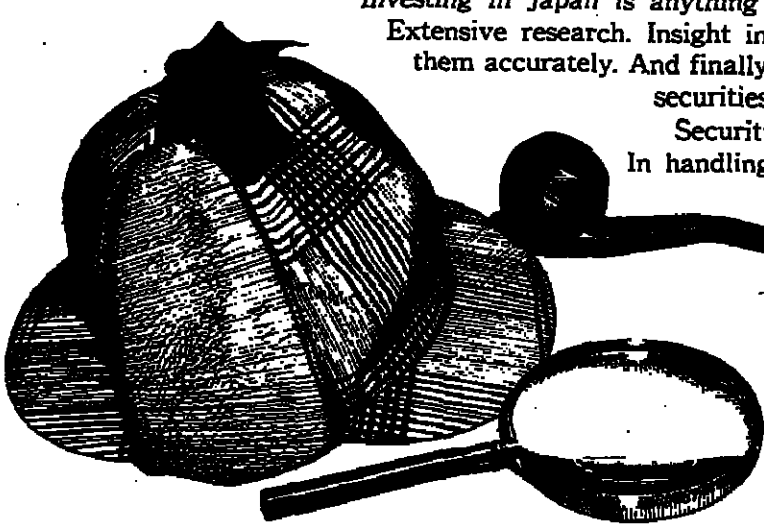
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Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trades elsewhere.  
*Via The Associated Press*

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### NASDAQ National Market Prices

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Model	Stock	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52-Week High	Low	Close	Open
22	PennC	1.10	4.3		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2
23	PennP	1.10	4.7		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2
24	PennS	1.10	4.3		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2
25	PennT	1.10	4.3		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2
26	PennU	1.10	4.3		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2
27	PennV	1.10	4.3		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2
28	PennW	1.10	4.3		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2
29	PennX	1.10	4.3		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2
30	PennY	1.10	4.3		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2
31	PennZ	1.10	4.3		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2
32	PennA	1.10	4.3		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2
33	PennB	1.10	4.3		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2
34	PennC	1.10	4.3		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2
35	PennD	1.10	4.3		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2
36	PennE	1.10	4.3		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2
37	PennF	1.10	4.3		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2
38	PennG	1.10	4.3		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2
39	PennH	1.10	4.3		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2
40	PennI	1.10	4.3		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2
41	PennJ	1.10	4.3		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2
42	PennK	1.10	4.3		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2
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45	PennN	1.10	4.3		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2
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48	PennQ	1.10	4.3		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2
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57	PennZ	1.10	4.3		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2
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83	PennZ	1.10	4.3		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2
84	PennA	1.10	4.3		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2
85	PennB	1.10	4.3		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2
86	PennC	1.10	4.3		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2
87	PennD	1.10	4.3		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2
88	PennE	1.10	4.3		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2
89	PennF	1.10	4.3		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2
90	PennG	1.10	4.3		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2
91	PennH	1.10	4.3		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2
92	PennI	1.10	4.3		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2
93	PennJ	1.10	4.3		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2
94	PennK	1.10	4.3		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2
95	PennL	1.10	4.3		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2
96	PennM	1.10	4.3		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2
97	PennN	1.10	4.3		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2
98	PennO	1.10	4.3		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2
99	PennP	1.10	4.3		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2
100	PennQ	1.10	4.3		24 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2	23 1/2

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## SPORTS

## Roma Looks to Rush Through a Loophole

International Herald Tribune

LONDON — "At Rome all things can be had at a price." Did Juventus, writing a hundred years after the birth of Christ, have a vision of how devious, how irreverent, 20th-century Romans might become in pursuit of their goal?

A.S. Roma, fallen from a one-time championship stand and affected by the bitterness of its failed bid for the 1990 World Cup, is looking abroad for new blood. Its covetous eyes are back on Ian Rush, the reigning European "golden boot" who is now restored to goal-poaching in his clean, crisp, incessant fashion following a knee surgery last fall.

But surely nothing can come of Does memory deceive us, or did the Italian federation rule at an age that imports would cease to be?

But there are ways of circumventing rules.

The federation recently reassessed the situation of clubs anticipating promotion from the second division this summer. It agreed — "to be fair" — to let promoted teams buy and bring in two foreigners. . . . And although one would never believe it of Roma President Dino Viola (a man already sitting on astronomical club debt), word persists that Roma will put up \$4 million (\$4.4 million) to finance a second-division bid for the Liverpool striker.

## ROB HUGHES

division this summer. It agreed — "to be fair" — to let promoted teams buy and bring in two foreigners. . . . And although one would never believe it of Roma President Dino Viola (a man already sitting on astronomical club debt), word persists that Roma will put up \$4 million (\$4.4 million) to finance a second-division bid for the Liverpool striker.

Presto, he would then be legally transferred to Roma, allowing Falcão, the faded idol of 1983-84 to return whence he came in Brazil. Ironically, Rush is something of an anti-hero. He can score (as last

week in the English FA Cup) a sublime hat trick and then praise his teammates. He still seems in awe of his more experienced Scottish partner, Kenny Dalglish. And adoration by the milling throng, be it Liverpoolian or Roman, moves him to no considerable oratory. But in soccer terms he scores more often than any contemporary at his level. And that is, well — if not priceless, likely to break the Banca di Roma.

Meanwhile, he might just be needed by Liverpool, which Wednesday night has unfinished business protecting its European Cup against Austria Vienna. Rush blanketed the first leg but, typically Liverpool, his side coolly drew.

Along with Liverpool, Juventus (three goals up on Sparta Prague), Dnepropetrovsk (level after the away leg in Bordeaux) and Panathinaikos (after controversially winning by a penalty in Göteborg) are favorites to make the semifinals.

In the Cup Winners' Cup, Roma may fill its house but not sufficiently fill Bayern Munich's goal to offset the West Germans' two-goal advantage. Despite injuries, Everton should qualify comfortably against the Dutchmen from Fortuna Sittard. Moscow Dynamo is a red-hot certainty to eliminate Larissa of Greece, and although Rapid Vienna found ways of conning its way past Celtic in the last round, I doubt it can pull back three goals against Dynamo Dresden.

The UEFA Cup, as ever, is more open. Manchester United overran Videoton in the home leg, but squeezed only a solitary goal — not enough if the Hungarians show appetite enough to become the first Magyar side in the semis in six years. They did so spectacularly in an earlier round, Josef Sobotka netting four times in a 5-0 second-leg bombardment that erased Partizan Belgrade's 2-0 advantage.

Dynamo Minsk has a tall order in trying to reverse a 2-0 deficit against Zvezdarnik of Yugoslavia. And Real Madrid, still wobbling despite deservedly outwitting Tottenham to finish a goal up in London, has two more doses of bad news. First the absence (hepatitis) of defensive anchor Uli Stielcke, and second the recent away goal of Spurs, who last Saturday (thanks to a phenomenal goal-keeping dis-

play by Ray Clemence) won in Liverpool for the first time in 73 years. Tottenham's previous victory in that stadium had been in the year the Titanic went down. Comparisons are being made to the on-again-off-again Real Madrid but, on the evidence of the Spaniards' mastery in London, I suspect its troubled ship will float a while longer.

From ship's company to superstars — or back to soccer gods and huge fortunes. West Germany is going through spasms of self-appraisal and self-denigration. Its workbench solidarity is a substitute for lost artistry.

"After the war in Germany," its onetime midfield creator, Reiner Bonhof, has commented, "people realized they all had to work hard together, and this mentality reached soccer, where too much emphasis is put on teamwork and too little on individual talent."

A week ago, Pierre Littbarski, one of the few who might have opposed that trend, was banned for four weeks for persistent fouling. And national boss Franz Beckenbauer, once the epitome of elegance, admitted: "I may be partly to blame — I urged Littbarski to be more aggressive."

For "aggressive" in soccer parlance, read dirty, industrious, angling or just athletic. Anyway, Littbarski's team, Cologne, will play in a packed stadium Wednesday when it attempts to overcome Inter Milan's slender one-goal lead.

Packed for one reason: The return of the last of West Germany's great individuals, Karl-Heinz Rummenigge. Long before he scored a scintillating goal for Inter against A.C. Milan last Sunday, Cologne's house was fully booked for the superstar's appearance.

It is his second homecoming in the UEFA competition. Hamburg also sold out when Rummenigge visited with Inter in the previous round, and now 61,188 Cologne fans are paying \$400,000 (and television is chipping in \$65,000), mainly in anticipation of one man's flair.

All eyes will be on him, and one more stroke of Rummenigge genius — one more memory from this former bank clerk — will remind his kinfolk of the precious talent whose price all Italians, not just Romans, are prepared to pay.

## VANTAGE POINT/Dave Anderson

## Baseball Commissioner Starts a Tightrope Act

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Into the glitter of the Astor Hotel came Peter Ueberroth, followed by Mickey Mantle and Willie Mays, a war-

den leading two paraded convicts out of jail and onto the streets. The baseball Hall of Famers didn't need to be handed a few dollars (they had their corporate credit cards), but each wore a new-look suit — gray with a red tie for Mantle, tan with a brown tie for Mays.

"I'm pleased," the commissioner began, "to welcome back to baseball Willie Mays and Mickey Mantle, effective immediately. Each is free to be employed by baseball without restrictions."

In his remarks Monday, Ueberroth carefully avoided criticizing the lifetime sentence each contends he does not even know who the clients are, but the cases presumably do not waste the marquee value of Mantle and Mays by pairing them with people who play 25-cent slots. Mantle was hired by the Claridge Ho-

tel in 1983 to direct its sports programs, he knew he'd get life too.

In the world according to Kubla, anyone employed by a casino could not be employed by a baseball team.

"I find no fault with the prior commissioner's ruling," Ueberroth said. "We're just making two exceptions. These two men are more a part of this game than any two living ballplayers. And new guidelines are needed to keep gambling and baseball apart; the whole world of gaming is changing."

The first guideline has been set — doing what Mantle and Mays do has Ueberroth's blessing. But the new commissioner has set a potentially dangerous precedent.

What the two Hall of Famers do, they say, is mostly play golf with "customers," a casino phenomenon for high rollers. Each contends he does not even know who the clients are, but the cases presumably do not waste the marquee value of Mantle and Mays by pairing them with people who play 25-cent slots. Mantle was hired by the Claridge Ho-

Mays to lure other high rollers into the casinos.

But the commissioner didn't appear alarmed. "I don't think," he said, "we can start dictating who you can play golf with."

As licensed New Jersey casino employees, the two are not permitted to gamble in casinos. But that doesn't prevent them from developing relationships with high rollers that someday may embroil baseball.

That, of course, could happen to any former or current baseball player without a casino connection. Denny McLain, for example, faces a 75-year sentence following his recent conviction for racketeering, extortion and cocaine possession.

Asked if McLain's problems related to the Mantle-Mays case, the commissioner said, "I don't know." Asked if the two cases should relate to each other, he said, "I don't think so."

The difference is that McLain broke the law.

Mantle and Mays don't break the law by playing golf with casino customers. But in declaring

that baseball needs stronger gambling guidelines, Ueberroth will be walking a tightrope — not only for players and former players with casino employment, but also for club owners as George Steinbrenner of the New York Yankees and John Galbreath of the Pittsburgh Pirates, who are involved in the thoroughbred-racing industry.

Granted, casino gambling deserves to be set apart from horse-race gambling, as hard porn should be set apart from soft porn. But walking the tightrope will be tricky. While investigating Mantle's case, Ueberroth learned that the Claridge was planning a billboard ad featuring a photo of the former slugger. That billboard, according to the commissioner, will not be displayed.

Is there really a difference between Mantle's face being on a billboard and Mantle himself riding in a golf cart with a high roller?

But in the commissioner's new gambling guidelines, which he expects to announce in the next few weeks, playing golf with customers will apparently be allowed. Billboards shilling won't.

In reinstating Mantle and Mays, both 53, the commissioner surely pleased the baseball public, although neither of the two is likely to return to baseball now.

"I wasn't known for my brains," Mantle said Monday. "I doubt if anybody will call me up and say, 'Come be my manager.'" But the Yankee who hit 536 home runs (one of the last came off McLain, who threw a fat pitch on purpose) seemed delighted at being pardoned. "You don't want to get thrown out of your favorite bar," he said, "much less banned from baseball."

As Ueberroth was about to leave, he walked over to say goodbye to the two pardoned, who asked if he needed them for anything else. "No," the commissioner said, "you guys can do anything you want."

Just don't pose for a casino billboard ad. And don't ignore the commissioner's eventual tightrope act on gambling and baseball.



Willie Mays, left, and Mickey Mantle, flanking Peter Ueberroth Monday in New York.



an Rush, storming past Tottenham goalie Ray Clemence.

## Nordiques Tie Canadiens For Top Spot in Division

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BOSTON — The torrid race in National Hockey League's Adams Division has grown even hotter with a first-place French Connection.

The trio of Peter and Anton Stastny and Michel Goulet combined for five goals and 12 of Quebec's 24 points here Monday night as the Nordiques leaptfrogged over the Canadiens to tie for first place in the division with an 8-4

pounding of Boston. Goulet scored three goals for the winners, and Wilf Paiment added a pair.

"It was a very important game," said Peter Stastny, who had a goal and four assists (three of them on the goals by Goulet). "If we had lost Boston could have been close to us, and with 10 games left anything could happen."

The Nordiques and Montreal are one point ahead of Buffalo, with Boston seven in back of the leaders.

Elsewhere it was Toronto 4, St. Louis 3, while Calgary and Minnesota tied, 4-4.

Quebec led, 3-2, after one period and by 6-3 after two. Goulet scored twice with a manpower advantage and raised his total for the season to 48 goals, including 14 on power plays.

Paiment and Anton Stastny scored before Steve Kasper's fifth short-handed goal of the season cut Quebec's lead to 2-1 at 8:30 of the opening period. Goulet and Boston's Charlie Simmer, who scored twice, traded power-play goals before Goulet connected on another power play to make it 4-2 at 3:30 of the second period.

Paiment tallied on a 20-foot backhand midway through the period before the Bruins' Ray Bourque retaliated with a power-play goal, but Goulet got it back when he completed his hat trick on a 25-foot wrist shot from the slot.

"We were hungry. We played a real good disciplined game," said Nordique Coach Michel Bergeron. "We're playing in a tough division, and we're hoping to finish first."

"I knew if we were going to win, we'd have to score at least five goals," said Peter Stastny. "First place is what's most important to us now. We've never won the division before and that's what we're playing for. It is a big advantage to finish first for the playoffs and that's what we want."

"That's what you play hockey for," he continued. "If you win a game, it makes you feel great. If you win a division, better. And if you win the Stanley Cup, that's the best."

"They're an impressive team with Stastny and Goulet operating like that," said Boston coach Harry Sinden. "Peter is really a strong player. You have trouble with a team like Quebec when he plays like he did tonight. He was immense."

There's plenty of time left — Montreal and Quebec each have 10 regular-season games remaining — for the Adams picture to be jumbled even further. "Three weeks from now, I'll be three weeks older," said Sinden. "We all wish we could forecast what will happen then, but we can't."

A sound forecast for Monday's game would have been that Boston goalie Doug Keane would allow fewer than eight goals. In his previous five games — all victories — he had given up just nine. "He wasn't beat in the goal," said Bergeron. "But we had too many 2-on-1's and 3-on-2's."

## SCOREBOARD

## National Basketball Association Leaders

TEAM OFFENSE			
G	P	PP	PPG
Denver	67	86.6	128.4
L.A. Lakers	67	77.5	115.9
Detroit	66	74.1	115.8
San Antonio	66	74.0	115.4
Boston	66	73.5	115.3
Kansas City	66	73.5	114.0
Portland	66	73.2	113.9
Philadelphia	66	73.0	113.4
Dallas	66	72.7	112.7
Houston	67	73.1	112.2
Allwaukee	67	73.1	112.2
Chicago	67	73.0	112.2
New York	66	72.8	112.0
Golden State	66	72.8	112.0
Phoenix	67	72.7	112.0
Cleveland	67	72.7	112.0
Indiana	66	72.5	112.0

## NHL FOCUS

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## Golf

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EARNINGS					
Edwards, Utah	66	219	574	795	123.0
Lofton, Del.		181	591	772	114.1
Gilmore, S.C.	60	288	522	722	104.0
Wright, Del.	59	272	512	722	104.0
Thompson, K.C.	68	222	506	723	104.1
Smith, G.S.	65	224	564	800	104.6
Forliss, Bae.	62	227	473	700	104.0
Shed, Bos.	68	175	587	720	104.0
Sammons, Hou.	67	188	521	709	104.0
ASSISTS			G	No.	Avg.
Thomson, Del.	65	876	13.5		
Johnson, L.A.L.	64	803	12.5		
Moore, S.A.	69	682	9.9		
Booley, Cleve.	67	562	8.4		
Wright, Del.	68	557	8.2		
Thorne, K.C.	68	544	8.0		
Richardson, N.J.	68	539	7.9		
Green, Utah	63	494	7.7		
Gs.Williams, Wash.	64	491	7.7		
Valentine, Fla.	61	460	7.5		
FREE THROWS			Ftm	Ftd	Pct



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